The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1891.

The Week.

In view of the sweeping and emphatic contradictions given by Assistant Secretary Soley on Saturday to the recent newspaper reports about the imminence of war with Chili, and the preparations of our Government for such a war, what are we to say to the persistent and wilful lying of our own press on this subject? And can there be more mischievous lying by the conductor of a newspaper than lying intended to spread abroad the impression that we were on the verge of justifiable hostilities with a friendly State, and that we should be entirely right in the eyes of God and man in bombarding its ports, slaughtering its people, and destroying its ships? Can a nearer approach than this to devil's work be made by an irresponsible blatherskite? One of the very worst offenders in this matter has been the New York *Times*. It has for many weeks permitted a very foolish and mendacious young man to send it despatches from Washington predicting war with Chili as all but certain, and describing in detail the vigorous preparations for it that our Government was making. On Wednesday of last week it made war almost certain under the heading, "Blaine's Bluster Ahead —The Chilian Controversy Begins to Look Warlike." On Monday we were told on one page that we were "Preparing to Meet Chili," and on another that we were "Quite Ready for Chili." On Saturday we were told about the "Ill-Will of Chili," and that "naval officials" were calling for "a display of our power." On Friday last we had a "Secret Naval Movement" on foot against Chili—and so on in wearisome iteration. Assistant Secretary Soley disposed of all this malignant rubbish in a word.

We believe there is now only one question pending between Chili and the United States which can cause any trouble. The case of the attack on the sailors of the *Baltimore* is pursuing its usual course in the courts. The "juge d'instruction," as the French call him, has done the work done here by our Grand Jury by making a preliminary examination of the case. His report is laid before the Public Prosecutor, answering to our District Attorney. He on this report and evidence draws the indictment, which is tried by four judges. Trial by jury does not exist in Chili. We believe, also, that an expression of regret over the occurrence was made by the Chilian Government long ago. We hope President Harrison has not been kept as much in the dark on this point as he was touching the proceedings in the *Itata* case. The one question which now contains any seeds of international trouble is the status of the refugees whom Egan is sheltering in the United States Legation. There is a considerable number of them, and probably two have committed ordinary crimes against person or property. The others are, in the strict sense of the term, political offenders—that is, men who took part in Balmaceda's attempt to overthrow the Government, or who, being at the time officers of the Government, aided him in his venture. The continuing shelter afforded to all these by our Legation is, we believe, a very doubtful use of a bad precedent, which our State Department has always condemned. This right of asylum in foreign legations has been allowed, as we said some time ago, in Spain and Spanish-American countries, at a period when revolutions were frequent and party passions very violent, and when the lives of the defeated were always in danger immediately after their defeat. Foreign legations took them in for a brief period, until the crisis was over and this danger to life had passed by. But this state of things exists no longer in Spain, and in only a few of the smaller South American States. Even if it did exist in Chili, it would furnish no excuse for converting a foreign legation into a *permanent* refuge for offenders against the laws of the country. Chili has not lost her rank as a sovereign and independent State through Balmaceda's attempt, any more than the United States lost theirs through the attempt of Jefferson Davis, and we should certainly have taken in very bad part the continued use, for months after the conflict was over, of the British Legation at Washington to shelter him and other leading Confederates from the pursuit of our constituted authorities.

What is making the trouble now about these refugees is Egan's contention, in which we believe he is backed at Washington, that he must have a safe conduct for them, to enable them to leave the country, before he can turn them out of the Legation. This is probably the most curious of all the demands we have made on "the sister Republic." It might be a perfectly proper demand to make on the Chinese, or Turks, or Moroccans, but it is a very odd condition for one civilized, law-governed Republic to seek to impose upon another. The Chilian answer is perfectly simple and impregnable. They are willing, for the sake of peace and quiet, to put up with the slightly veiled insult of making the American Legation an asylum for fugitives from their justice, but they cannot grant a safe conduct to these fugitives, because there is no officer of the Chilian Government, any more than of the American Government, authorized to grant it, under the Chilian Constitution, to citizens charged with indictable offences. Fancy President Harrison or Governor Hill giving such persons a license to run away from the Union or the State of New York, so as to avoid trial. What the Chilian Government can promise to these refugees, and does promise, is a fair trial according to the law of the land. Some of them are charged with simply impeachable offences, committed as officers of the Government. These the Chilians wish to try before the Senate, according to the Constitution. Others are charged with ordinary criminal offences. These they wish to try before the ordinary courts. The use of our greatly superior force to compel the Chilian authorities to nullify their own Constitution, would be a very queer enterprise for a republic. It would be made all the odder and more scandalous by the fact that our Minister, who is boarding these refugees, lies under the suspicion of having been their confederate or sympathizer in their late attempt against the Government of their own country.

Some of the Washington correspondents have constructed elaborate tables showing the number of committee chairmanships given by Speaker Crisp to "the North" and "the South" respectively. The Democratic membership is divided almost equally between the two sections, the North having a bare majority. On the basis of numbers, therefore, the North should get 29 and the South 27. In point of fact, Northern representatives have received 25 and Southern 31. Two things, however, are to be borne in mind. One is that most of the Southern Democrats are old members, while the larger part of those from the North are new men, and that precedent strongly favors those with a record of long service. The other is that the North gets the two most important chairmanships—those of the Ways and Means and Appropriations Committees—and that these are fully the equivalent of half-a-dozen committees near the foot of the list. So far as this aspect of his work is concerned, Mr. Crisp has done his work as fairly as could be expected, and the result is not open to criticism.

Fortunately, the time is past when it is a matter of consequence to the people whether North or South gets the larger share of the committee chairmanships. There is no longer any sectional issue which renders it important whether the one part of the country or the other has control of legislation. Even the "rebel brigadier" clap-trap has ceased to be effective. Indeed, the severest critics of Speaker Crisp's policy regarding the Ways and Means Committee will be found among Northern men. He has made a Northern Representative its chairman, but the fact

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that Mr. Springer comes from the North is rightly regarded as unimportant. These critics consider Mr. Mills the man who should have been given the place by virtue of his past prominence as the tariff-reform leader, and they do not attach the slightest weight to the fact that he lives in Texas and fought in the Confederate army. It is really a striking proof of the decline of sectional feeling that many Northern men should condemn a Georgia Speaker because he has made an Illinois man, rather than a Texan, "leader of the House."

Speaker Crisp has made an excellent Committee on the Civil Service. Mr. Andrew of Massachusetts, the Chairman, is a firm believer in the merit system, and Mr. Coombs of Brooklyn, one of the new members, is an earnest advocate of reform. We do not recognize among the others a single one of those politicians who ridicule and denounce reform, and the Committee as a whole is undoubtedly favorable to the maintenance and extension of the system. The fact is not without significance that Mr. Crisp thought it wise to frame such a committee. He may not be enamoured of civil-service reform, but he is a shrewd enough politician to see that it would not be good policy to show it disfavor. The time has gone by both for sneers about "snivel-service reform," and for the appointment of a man like Gen. Butler as Chairman of the Committee on the subject. Even the worst spoilsmen now see that the movement cannot be stopped, and is already too powerful to be opposed safely. No less significant than Speaker Crisp's action in this committee matter is Secretary Foster's course in promulgating a set of rules which puts the whole system of promotions in the Treasury Department on the most advanced ground of civil-service reform.

Gov. Hill has clearly come to the conclusion that he does not need the support of the law-abiding portion of the people of this State in order to advance his political ambition. He has supplemented his conduct in refusing to surrender Connecticut fugitives from justice, and in inducing canvassing boards to disregard the election laws, by pardoning, immediately after sentence, the Onondaga Supervisor who was fined $250 and sentenced to the penitentiary for thirty days for contempt of court in refusing to obey the court's order to send back election returns to the inspectors for correction. The audacity of this last performance by the Governor is surprising even in him. The Supervisor was guilty of a very grave offence, and was justly punished for it by the court. This punishment would have been a most valuable warning to supervisors hereafter who should be tempted to repeat his offence—that is, to defeat the will of the people, as expressed in an election, by disregarding the requirements of the laws in canvassing the vote. From the beginning to the end of the post-election controversy in this State, Gov. Hill has openly defied the law. He has denounced one Supreme Court justice for declaring that the law must be enforced, and has attempted unsuccessfully to use another justice to undo the work of the first. He has removed from office two county clerks for refusing to do what Democratic justices of the Supreme Court have declared would have been an illegal action. And now he caps the climax by pardoning a lawbreaker before he can enter upon the punishment which was imposed upon him for his crime.

Mr. Matthew Hale's careful and moderate review of Gov. Hill's conduct in this matter will leave no doubt in any impartial mind that the Governor's course is both unprecedented and indefensible. Mr. Hale shows that no Governor has ever claimed before that the provision of the Constitution which vests the Executive with power to grant pardons after conviction, can be construed as authorizing him to give release from punishment inflicted by order of a court for disobedience of its own order. As to the question of the Governor's power to pardon a contempt for which, as a crime, the offender has been tried and convicted, there is no doubt whatever; but Mr. Hale shows that the question of pardoning a man who has not been tried, but who has been sentenced to punishment, under the Civil code, by the court, as a means of enforcing its own authority, is quite another matter. He quotes many authorities on this point, showing that the highest courts of the State have upheld the right of the courts to inflict summary punishment for contempt.

Mr. Hale calls attention, at the close of his review, to the extraordinary position which the Governor took when he published his reasons for pardoning Welch. In the memorandum which he filed, the Governor declared that Welch, or any other member of the Canvassing Board, was "entitled to commendation and not to punishment" for resisting the order of the court, since he (the Governor) believed that order to have been issued by a partisan judge. The Governor also admitted in the same memorandum that Welch had been acting under his guidance, or, as Mr. Hale puts it, that he himself, the Chief Executive of the State, had "instigated, aided, and abetted the contempt of court of which Welch was guilty," thus confessing himself guilty of a misdemeanor under the Penal Code. Mr. Hale thus sums up the case, adding to his summary his belief that the question will be carried to the Court of Appeals for final decision:

"The claim of the Governor amounts therefore to this: a Governor who advises a party to a judicial proceeding to disobey the lawful mandate of a court may, under the pretence of an exercise of the pardoning power, prevent the court from enforcing its decree or order by the punishment of the person who has committed the act of disobedience in pursuance of the Governor's direction. It is hardly necessary to say that if this construction of the pardoning power is correct, the independence of the judiciary is at an end. Its orders can be enforced only by the forbearance of the Governor. If the Governor chooses (as the present Governor of New York has chosen) to set himself in opposition to the law, and in opposition to the courts, he can, by the exercise of the pardoning power, paralyze the arm of justice."

We regret to observe that the *Tribune* has a Democratic fabricator in its Washington bureau. He telegraphs to his paper that "the total annual appropriations for the current year, including deficiencies and miscellaneous, amounted to $402,537,864." This is only a few thousand dollars higher than Senator Allison's statement of last March. Add in the $122,486,808 of the "permanent annual appropriations," the amount "submitted to Congress by the Secretary of the Treasury as estimated to be necessary under permanent specific and indefinite appropriations," and we easily pass the $525,000,000 mark. But the *Tribune*, having that sum in mind, has editorially assured us that "the fact had been many times made known by Republican journals that the appropriations to be actually expended within the coming year were not as large by many millions as Democratic fabricators had asserted." So much depends upon the point of view. When it is a question of Republican extravagance, our contemporary declares that it was no such thing, and that Senator Allison was a Democratic fabricator in giving the figures to prove it. But when Mr. Holman begins to talk about cutting down the appropriations by $118,000,000 at this session, the *Tribune* points admiringly to the Republican grand total, all of which it asserts to have been necessary. In either case, poor Mr. Foster's estimate of expenses for the current year—$409,000,000—looks small enough. He is acting as a sort of Chairman of the Appropriations Committee himself, and cutting down $116,000,000 on his own responsibility. His method differs from Mr. Holman's in that the latter proposes to prevent the enactment of extravagant laws, while Mr. Foster is preventing their execution. But then, if he only had the money, he would gladly pay out all that the laws call for. He is merely straitened by circumstances, and not at all a niggardly man by nature, so we understand he assures the people whom he keeps waiting for their Government dues.

The Tin-Plate Consumers' Association now numbers 256 business firms and corporations, representing probably five hundred times as much capital as all the tin-plate makers in the United States. The first name in the list is Armour & Co., Chicago. It would be safe to say that this firm alone could buy out all the tin-plate establishments in the country without being seriously discommoded. It is safe to say, also, that the number of hands employed by the 256 members of the Association is as largely in excess of those

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employed in the tin-plate industry as their capital is larger. These men say that they desire to treat the tin-plate question as a question of business, and not of politics. They say also that, as a matter of business, they have paid ten million dollars *more* than was necessary for tin plates used in their trades since the McKinley Bill was passed. They add that not one sheet of coke tin, which comprises over one-half of this country's requirements, has yet been made here, and that the present output of all kinds of tin plate does not constitute one per cent. of our entire consumption. We trust that the new Committee on Ways and Means will likewise treat the tin-plate question as a question of business and not of politics, and to this end will promptly send to the Senate a bill putting back the duty where it was before it was McKinleyed. Then let the Senate treat it as a matter of business also, and concur with the House. Then the Tin-Plate Consumers' Association will quietly disband, and its members can resume their disturbed relations with the Republican party. There is nothing like taking a business view of it.

An effort is making to secure better pay for the men employed in the life-saving service. They now receive but $40 per month, and that only for the eight months they are employed, while they are, of course, at a disadvantage in securing remunerative work for the other four months. They are obliged to provide their uniforms, as well as their underclothing, heavy coats, rubber boots, and tarpaulins, which must be of good quality and therefore must cost not a small sum. They are exposed to all sorts of weather when on shore duty, and to the peril of their lives in case their assistance is needed by vessels in distress. The record of the service is in every way most creditable—an almost unbroken story of the faithful performance of routine duty, interspersed at frequent intervals with displays of wonderful heroism. A bill has been introduced increasing the rate of pay to $75 per month, and there ought to be no question of its passage. The country favors economical appropriations, but it does not want to stint a class of its employees which includes so many heroes.

The London *Times* of December 14 gives the particulars of the embarrassment of the Portsea (Eng.) Building Society, briefly reported by cable. This Society was a coöperative concern, whose principal supporters were naval officers, pensioners, and the most thrifty class of workingmen. It was established as long ago as 1846, and had loaned to its members about $6,250,000. By the November statement the liabilities were £717,834 and the assets £738,444. The trouble was caused by rumors of bad management, followed by a "run" of members who wanted to withdraw their deposits. As an association of this kind keeps the largest part of its deposits loaned out to members, the directors decided to announce a suspension of business in order to see where they stood. Now it comes out that the failure is the old story again of directors who do not direct. These officers had allowed the Secretary, who had held the office for a long term of years, to manage the Society practically by himself, and when they looked into his accounts they discovered that £31,399 had been loaned by him without mortgage securities, and a large part of this to persons who were not members of the Society. This could not have been done had not the officers of the Society allowed it to branch out into a deposit and banking business. The building-and-loan-association form of coöperation is doubtless the safest coöperative scheme that has been devised. But when it is allowed to depart from its proper field of operations, it is certain to come to grief. In this country the State laws on the subject do not, we think, permit mismanagement of this sort, but they cannot guarantee security where, as in a recent Brooklyn case, the directors place the certain control of an association in one man's hands.

A great sensation has been produced in Germany by an article of Prof. Delbrück, in his monthly, the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, which criticises very sharply the inscription made by the Emperor in the Munich 'Golden Book'—"Suprema Lex, Regis Voluntas." The Professor is a Conservative, and was at one time tutor to the Emperor's brother, Prince Waldemar, so his words have great weight when he says:

> "The press points to the Constitution, asking, Where are the Constitutional Ministers? and storms at Byzantinism. The officials whisper to one another, with gloomy looks and sharp remarks. The professors weave into their lectures observations relating to public law, such as that the Germans had always a monarchy, but not an unlimited one. The clergy took the opportunity of preaching last Sunday on the text that the highest law was God's will. Even the semi-official papers are at a loss for excuses, which proves that at the bottom of their hearts they think the same. But why this storm—as it only has to do with a word, with nothing concrete, no intention, no plan, no symptom which might let us expect something new? We won't hesitate to say straight out that the excitement is so great because of an already existing feeling waiting for expression. This chance word is regarded only as an exposition of a subjective monarchical will which people are prepared to meet with resistance. In this lies a danger for the future which cannot be regarded too seriously."

This is extremely strong talk, but even stronger will probably be heard if there should be many more imperial vagaries. The Emperor's speech to the recruits informing them that they belonged to him "body and soul," and that he might have to call on them to kill their parents, was in the same vein, and, of course, hurts German pride, and raises the question in many minds whether anybody holding such views of kingly prerogative is fit to reign in a constitutional monarchy.

The Emperor, however, is probably safe in displaying his absolutism as long as the Franco-Russian cloud is on the horizon. In their present condition between France and Russia, the Germans cannot afford any contention with the commander of the army; and unless he loses his head altogether, William will probably be allowed to play a great many pranks in civil life as long as he keeps the military forces in a good state of preparation. The German correspondent of an occasionally esteemed contemporary, writing from Heidelberg, says this phrase, "Suprema lex, regis voluntas," is "a disfigurement of the old Roman phrase, 'Suprema lex, salus republicæ'"; but it is much more likely to be a slight adaptation to modern ideas by the Emperor himself of that maxim of the later Roman lawyers which runs: "Quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem"—"The Emperor's will has the force of law."

The refusal of the Queensland Parliament to vote a grant of money to the Nordenskjöld expedition to the south polar regions probably puts an end to another of the several Antarctic enterprises which have been projected during the last few years. Half a century has now passed since Sir James Ross, the last as he was the greatest of Antarctic explorers, unfolded some of the mysteries of the south polar ice-cap, discovered the volcanoes Erebus and Terror, and skirted for several hundred miles the shores of the great glacial continent. To the Arctic region, on the contrary, during the half-century, there have been probably not fewer than a score of expeditions, several of them attended by terrible loss of life and suffering; and at the present time Peary is wintering on the Greenland west coast, and Nansen is preparing for his perilous and rash "drift voyage" from the north coast of Siberia across the Arctic Sea. In the north polar regions, about the only realms now left for new discovery are the north points of Greenland, the scientific investigation of the Humboldt glacier, the outlining of the upper Greenland coasts, and a few facts relating to the ice-cap supplementary to those of Nansen during his transit of that country; while at the south the great polar continent yet remains to be delimited, its ice barrier possibly scaled, and its internal features sketched out. The proposal, at one or two commercial centres of Europe, to send whaling ships to the Antarctic Sea has also its flavor of utility and of profit in the exploration of that still mystic region. Assuming, what we are very far from asserting, that these dangerous polar voyages of exploration are justified, the reason why the Arctic region has still such superior magnetism for explorers remains a deep enigma, whether the subject is regarded from its common point of view of "pure science," or from that of its much more hypothetical utilities.

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THE MORAL OF ELKINS.

No enemy of the spoils system—meaning by that the system of paying political debts by the bestowal of offices, without regard to the fitness of the payee—could desire a better illustration of the disadvantages and dangers of the system than the sending of Egan to represent us in Chili. We have never been able to extract from any organ of the Administration a single proper reason for his selection for this post. These organs maintain dead silence on that point. Of course, it was to Chili something in the nature of an insult to impose on her as American Minister a foreign fugitive. She might very properly have resented this by refusing to receive him. But she was naturally anxious not to get into unpleasant relations with a powerful neighbor, so she did receive him without a murmur. What made her action all the more conciliatory was that Egan was the second Irish politician she had been made to endure as American Envoy. Mr. Cleveland sent a Mr. Roberts, who was known here only as a Fenian, or some species of Irish malcontent, for, we suppose, the same reason—a desire to pay for Irish support; and Balmaceda, when he heard Egan was coming, is said to have asked, with some pathos, why Chili was specially selected to clear off the Irish debts of both American political parties.

The case of Roberts, however, excited little or no notice, because there was no trouble in Chili during his residence there. President Harrison was doubtless encouraged by this precedent when he sent Egan. If there has been no complaint about Roberts, said he to himself, so there will be none about Egan. And there would have been none but for the outbreak of the civil war. This at once called for the presence at Santiago of an American of high character, and of long experience in law and diplomacy, and thus immediately laid bare the rottenness of our present system of appointments in the diplomatic service. All such appointments, or all except that to London, are made on the assumption that our representatives abroad will have nothing to do; but whenever the assumption fails, it is apt to fail terribly, and we become objects of ridicule to the civilized world. The diplomatic agent of a great nation is very like the Texan's pistol, which, he said, he did not want once in six months, but when he wanted it he wanted it "mighty bad."

The truth is, that, with our rapidly extending foreign trade and our rapidly multiplying points of contact with foreign nations, the diplomatic service ought to be put on precisely the same footing, as regards efficiency, as the army and navy. We may not need the services of either once in half a century, but they are both organized and maintained on the theory that we may need their services at any moment. Every regiment and every ship is and has to be armed, drilled and disciplined, and officered as if war might break out next week. So, also, every one of our leading foreign Ministers ought to be selected on the assumption that serious crises may occur at any moment in the capital to which he is to be accredited.

All this admits of easy application to Elkins's induction into the War Department. This appointment has probably been made, like Wanamaker's, either for money had and received, or for money *in transitu*—that is, for some kind of service capable of being estimated in dollars and cents. The question of his fitness has probably not entered into consideration in selecting him, in the smallest degree. Moreover, he may stay in the office until the close of President Harrison's term without the smallest scandal or disturbance. The temptations which will assail him may be, from first to last, far below his figure—to use an arithmetical illustration—but one may come any day high enough to carry him off his feet, and we shall then have a scandal.

Places like the War Department have, in fact, to be filled on precisely the same theory of probabilities as places in business houses. All private business is managed on the assumption that any man may forge or steal, but that in selecting a particular man for a place of responsibility this probability must be reduced to its lowest terms by his character as proved and illustrated by his previous life. A notorious burglar *might* act as the president of a bank with complete probity for many years, but the probabilities, as ascertained by his antecedents, that he would not do so, would be so strong that stockholders or directors who put him in any such place would be looked on as insane.

The War Department is not a great place for a man like Mr. Endicott or Mr. Proctor, who desires nothing but to see that the small military affairs of the nation are honestly and efficiently managed. It does not present temptations of any kind which such men find the smallest difficulty in resisting; and even such men as Mr. Elkins may administer it for two years without calling forth either notice or censure. But anybody who *expects* a man of his tastes, tendencies, and antecedents to treat the place as a humdrum routine of commonplace duties, is guilty of the same disregard of probabilities that would be shown by a business man who hired a cashier without a reference. A man of Elkins's restless temperament and great energy and activity, in all of which he resembles closely his friend—quondam friend, it is now said—Mr. Blaine, is very likely to see numerous channels in which he can be useful, and to chafe under the position of a deadhead in any attractive enterprise. The casting of "anchors to windward" is not a military figure, but a soldier can always "hold the fort" till the siege is raised, mine the enemy's works, or communicate with friends outside by signal lights on the battlements, or by carrier pigeons.

A BEGINNING FOR TARIFF REFORM.

THE *Dry Goods Economist* considers that the time has come for the removal of all duties on wool, or, at all events, for the reduction of them to a nominal rate. "When such domestic consumers," it says, "as Glover Sanford & Sons of Bridgeport, the largest exclusive wool-hat manufacturers in the country, shut down and discharge four hundred hands because they can no longer obtain the foreign wools necessary for mixing with the native staple, and when hundreds of other manufacturers using blends of wool find themselves crippled and restricted to a greater or less extent by the same cause, the most inveterate advocate of high wool duties has to stop and think whether the policy successfully embodied in the McKinley Bill is, after all, best for American wool. And the more such men think, and the more the farmers think and investigate for themselves, the more clearly will they see that their true course is to remove all embargo from the coöperative, not competitive, foreign wools."

The article in the *Economist* probably reflects the mature opinion of the dealers in woollen goods, both foreign and domestic, unbiassed by political considerations. The agitation that has been going on in New England for four or five years points to the same conclusion. The magnitude of the interests involved gives to the wool problem a unique and special interest, and singles it out for special and early treatment by the new Committee of Ways and Means. If the policy of dealing with the tariff by special groups of articles instead of by the general bill is adopted, then it would seem best to begin with a measure of really commanding interest and importance, such as the clothing of the whole people. A bill dealing with the duties on wool and woollens could not be considered a trifling matter. It could not be "whistled down the wind." Nor could the Republican politicians say that it is impolitic to take up one branch of the tariff question alone to the exclusion of others, since they set the example with the very same article of wool in the famous act of 1867.

It should be borne in mind that by the tariff of 1857 all wools costing twenty cents or less per pound at the port of shipment were admitted free of duty. These were nearly all the wools in existence. We had practically free wool until the war tariff was adopted in 1861. Then a moderate revenue duty of 5 per cent. was put on those wools and a little higher rate on washed wools. These were purely revenue duties. In 1864 they were slightly increased with the duties on other articles, but still for revenue purposes only. It was not until 1867, the war having been ended two years, that high duties were put on wool for the express purpose of protection, and in this case the subject was taken up separate and apart from everything else. By this bill the duties on wool of the kind most largely

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used were raised from 6 cents per pound to 10 cents per pound *and* 11 per cent. ad valorem. This was an increase of about 100 per cent. in the rate of duty. The duties on woollen goods were increased correspondingly on the principle of "compensation." It was assumed that four pounds of wool were required to make one pound of cloth. So the specific duty on wool was multiplied by four, and this, together with the new ad-valorem duty on wool, was added to the duty on woollens, the whole making one of the most disgraceful and disastrous chapters in American fiscal history.

The consequence of the new departure in wool tariffs is well known. Both wool-growers and woollen manufacturers entered upon one of the most gloomy periods that their respective industries ever saw in this country. The price of domestic wool declined to such an extent that millions of sheep were slaughtered. Mr. Allison of Iowa made a speech in the House in which he gave statistics to show that wool-growing had been practically brought to an end in his State by the tariff of 1867. After five years' experience of this tariff, the Bulletin of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers said: "There is one thing that all who are interested in the manufacture will agree to, that for the last five years the business in the aggregate has been depressed, that the profits made during the war have been exhausted mainly, and that it has been extremely difficult during all this time to buy wool and manufacture it into goods and get a new dollar for an old one." The policy which dictated the disastrous tariff of 1867 is still in force, somewhat intensified by the McKinley Bill of 1890, and now the crazy men who carried that measure through Congress are clamoring for a bill to exclude all foreign wools from the United States, of every name and description. We hope that the fighting will be forced upon them by a bill making all wools free of duty at an early day. There is no better place for tariff reform to begin.

LOTTERY EVILS AND METHODS.

A VERY clear insight into the questions at issue in the lottery struggle which is in progress in Louisiana is furnished by two articles in the January *Forum*. The writers in both instances are men of high character, residents of the State, and early leaders in the organized movement against the lottery. They speak with an authority and from a fulness of knowledge which makes their utterances of great value to all persons who wish to obtain a clear conception of the struggle which is to be decided at the polls in April next. The writer of the first article is Judge Frank McGloin of the Louisiana Court of Appeals, and the writer of the second is John C. Wickliffe, the editor of the *New Delta* newspaper, which was established a year ago in New Orleans to furnish the anti-lottery movement with an organ in the press, all the existing journals being completely in the lottery's interest.

Judge McGloin recalls the fact that the State owes the existence of the lottery evil at the present time to the carpet-bag régime, which, with H. C. Warmoth in the Governor's chair, had possession of the State in 1868, when the new charter was passed. Warmoth did not sign the charter, but neither did he veto it, allowing it to become a law without his signature. He is now opposing the proposed constitutional amendment rechartering it for twenty-five years, and, in his capacity as Collector of the Port of New Orleans, to which place President Harrison appointed him, is leading the anti-lottery wing of the Republican party, while some of his old carpet-bag associates are leading the other wing, and P. B. S. Pinchback, of Returning-Board fame, is one of the lottery magnates. Warmoth's present course is not looked upon without suspicion, for he is the natural ally of the lottery, and, while making the most vehement protests of hostility to it, may be working secretly in its interest.

The most interesting portion of Judge McGloin's article is the estimate which he makes of the lottery's profits. He declares that the terms of the company's advertisements show that "its dealings with its patrons have all along been conducted upon lines of absolute robbery." He says that the ordinary gambler is content with 15 per cent. of the stakes won by players in his establishment, but that the lottery gamblers take at least 47 per cent. He shows that the face value of the tickets which the company sells for its twelve monthly drawings is $28,000,000, and that the total of all its prizes is less than $15,000,000, leaving the company a profit of $13,000,000. He makes a very strong point on the fiscal policy of the State in allowing the company to conduct the lottery business in the State's name at such a profit, declaring that if the State is going into the gambling business, with all the odium attached, it ought to insist upon the lion's share of the profits for itself. He shows that the State does not even invite rival bids for so valuable a charter, and that when a gambler in Europe telegraphed voluntarily a bid for the new charter which was a quarter of a million dollars greater than the company's bid, the company at once raised its bid by that amount, and hurried the charter through the Legislature before other rivals could appear.

Concerning the effect of the lottery upon the morals of the people, the Judge speaks with great earnestness. "What sort of political economy is it," he asks, "which boldly counteracts the teaching of our firesides, that gambling is a vice to be abominated and shunned? How shall the rising generations be induced to contemn and fear this most insidious of temptations, when the State holds it constantly before them as the one great benefactor of the Commonwealth? How shall our children despise the gambler who is providing for their education, rearing the levees which keep out the floods, and supporting hospitals and asylums for orphans and the insane?" He adds that visible evidences of the demoralization already accomplished are plentiful:

> "Already our servant girls are becoming in considerable numbers practised and habitual thieves, putting our market-baskets under daily toll for lottery money. The number of defalcations large and petty is multiplying. The number of lottery offices has multiplied, and the roll of their habitual customers is growing steadily. Saddest of all, this roll numbers a multitude of women and of children, the latter including those of tender years. Your lottery-vender has no compunctions, nothing in the shape of commiseration. He will hand out the ticket to the poor starved woman, though he must guess that the twenty-five cents handed to him in return is taken from the scanty table of herself and children. He will write out the combination for the servant girl, though he be aware that the nickels she hands him are filched from the money intrusted to her for the purchase of food for her employer."

That the company has carried its points almost or quite uniformly by means of bribery, nobody who has watched the progress of legislation in its interest can have any doubt. The difficulty has been to obtain proof. Mr. Wickliffe gives two instances in which circumstantial evidence of indubitable character came to light in a somewhat dramatic manner:

> "Just after the adjournment of the Legislature which passed the Lottery Bill in July, 1890, one of the Senators, who had been an anti-lottery man, and who was the last man converted to the lottery side, died at the Hôtel Dieu in this city. He was a man who never had a dollar in his life. He was one of those men whom you have sometimes met that were born about $1,000 behindhand and who never caught up. He was deeply in debt, and had been so ever since he was a man. From his dead body was taken a money-belt which contained $18,000 in one-thousand-dollar bills, all new. Another, also, a member of the House, who was the same sort of a man, died very soon after the adjournment, and a large sum of money was found in his possession also."

Whenever a case gets into court, the assailants of the company are either induced to settle out of court, or the officers of the company refuse to obey the subpœna of the court, and flee beyond the court's jurisdiction until the case has been dismissed on a *nolle prosequi*. The company "has dozens of men who have been and are in public life upon its pay-roll, giving them stipulated sums per annum for services heretofore rendered. Those it can buy it buys; and those it cannot buy it seeks to destroy. It has no politics and knows no party. It numbers among its servants Democrats and Republicans. It has traded with all parties and has supported all parties." It is not difficult to understand, in view of these statements, why it is that all parties are so split up upon the lottery issue, for the greater the general confusion, and the larger the number of opposing candidates in the election, the greater will be the chances for lottery corruption to win in the end.

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TALLEYRAND'S MEMOIRS.—VI.*

PARIS, December 10, 1891.

THE fourth volume of the Memoirs of Talleyrand is a collection of diplomatic documents, tied together by commentaries which have lost much of their interest at this distance from the events. They relate wholly to the London Conference which followed the Revolution of 1830, and which had for its object the settlement of the affairs of Belgium.

In the month of January, 1831, when the volume begins, the King of the Netherlands had accepted the principle of the independence of Belgium, but his conditions as to the delimitation of the new kingdom and the partition of the debt were found unacceptable. The Conference had, besides, a great problem to solve in the choice of a sovereign for the new kingdom. Hostilities were only suspended between Belgium and the Netherlands: Antwerp was blockaded, and the commerce of the Scheldt was interrupted; the Belgians, in their turn, blockaded Maestricht. Talleyrand had a very happy inspiration: at a moment when all seemed still uncertain, and when the various Powers represented at the Conference had very different hopes and aspirations, he contrived to unite them in a declaration of the neutrality of the future kingdom of Belgium. Article 5 of the protocol of the 20th of January, which he proposed, and which was unanimously accepted, declared that "Belgium, in the limits which will be traced in conformity with the basis of articles 1, 2, and 4 of the present protocol, shall form a State perpetually neutral. The five Powers guarantee it this neutrality, as well as the integrity and inviolability of the limits above mentioned."

This was a great diplomatic victory, and Europe still profits by it. During the war of 1870, Belgium remained neutral and inviolate. She is now building powerful forts in the valley of the Meuse, but these are merely the defence of her neutrality. King Leopold changed Antwerp into an entrenched camp; he thought that Belgium was not able to defend her territory against a large invading army, but she could shut up her own army in the entrenched camp of Antwerp, where it could wait for an English army of succor arriving by the Scheldt. Leopold always considered that England was bound to help Belgium without a moment's hesitation. The entrenched camp of Antwerp has lost much of its value, as it was built at a time when artillery had made little progress; it would now have to be armed with new forts, with cupolas; but the attention of the Belgian military authorities is directed at present more to the Meuse than to the Scheldt, for reasons which will be easily understood.

Let us return to the London Conference. Talleyrand was proud, and justly proud, of his achievements in this question of Belgian neutrality. He wrote to Gen. Sebastiani: "The recognized neutrality of Belgium places that country in the same position with Switzerland, and upsets, in consequence, the political system adopted in 1815 by the Powers—a system inspired by hatred of France. The thirteen fortresses of Belgium which constantly threatened our northern frontier, fall, so to speak, in consequence of this resolution." Talleyrand was very desirous that the Duchy of Luxembourg should enter the neutral zone; he fought on this point "like a lion" (despatch of Lord Palmerston to Lord Granville), but he could not carry it, as the Duchy belonged to an independent sovereign and to the German Confederation.

Talleyrand had the habit of forming for himself a diplomatic plan which he followed through the fluctuations of the negotiations without ever losing sight of certain main points. He never told all at once whither he was tending, but he knew whither. He had a sort of curious pliability as to forms, and great resolution as to the end. In the Belgian affair, which was for two years a sort of Gordian knot and the centre of the whole European policy, he made up his mind from the beginning, with his great foresight and good sense, on a certain number of points. He understood at once that, if France annexed Belgium to its own territory, or even if France gave to Belgium as its sovereign a son of Louis Philippe, there would be a general war, and such a war in 1831 or 1832, with the hostility of the great Powers to the new King of France, whom they considered as an usurper, could end only in the invasion of France and in great disasters. He was convinced that all the efforts of the Powers could never bring the Belgians to accept as their new King a Prince of Orange; he therefore chose from the beginning in his own mind as his candidate Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, and he saw in this choice many advantages: he knew the Prince to be an able man, he knew that he would be the English candidate, and he needed the support of England in the Conference. He was very favorable to an *entente cordiale* between the new Constitutional Government of France and England. He was determined, at the same time, not to allow England to gain a footing in the Low Countries, not to have a sort of *tête de pont* on the Continent. "History," says he in one of his letters, "shows the difficulties which followed the occupation of Calais by the English, and also what favor was bestowed on Guise after he had delivered France from this shame. The lessons ought not to be lost upon us." This was written at a moment when it had been suggested that Antwerp might be declared a free town, like the Hanseatic towns; Talleyrand always insisted that Antwerp should be a Belgian town, and should belong to the new kingdom.

There was so much wisdom in his views, and Talleyrand understood so well the sentiments of the great Powers—how to set one over against another, how to use their jealousies and their apprehensions—that he soon became a sort of arbiter at the Conference. He had become a lion in society; all society was at the feet of the old statesman, who had seen so many men and things. We see him as he was then in a portrait which forms the frontispiece of the present volume—how different from the young Abbé de Périgord of the first volume; how grave and solemn now, with a long wig falling on his neck, his chin supported by and almost concealed in a necktie; his eyelid drooping over the inquisitive eye; his lips compressed. Talleyrand had to sit many times for his portrait. Lord Holland would have one, which was long to be seen at Holland House, and which was painted by Ary Scheffer. This is now in the collection of the Duc d'Aumale, Lord Holland having left it to the Duke in his will. It resembles very much the engraving which is in the fourth volume of the Memoirs.

Talleyrand had special difficulties during his mission to Brussels. Officially he had to deal only with the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, but the Parliamentary position was very unstable: there was no strong Cabinet, and the Ministers had no *lendemain*. He really could speak his inner thoughts only to the King, and Louis Philippe was in perfect harmony with him. Talleyrand was afraid of being accused of being in direct communication with him over the heads of the Ministers; he found an intelligent and safe go-between in Mme. Adelaide, the King's sister, who had a manly character and a manly intellect—a little too ardent at times—absolutely devoted to her brother, his best adviser and counsellor to the end; a princess imbued with the ideas of modern France, whose life has still to be written. The letters of Talleyrand to Mme. Adelaide are among the best in the volume; they are evidently Talleyrand's personal work, and have not been prepared or written by secretaries. He always calls her Mademoiselle, the name given under the old régime to the unmarried sister of the sovereign. They are written in the style which was current before the great Revolution, with all the delicacies of language of a gentleman and a little touch of personal sentiment. The Duc de Dalberg, a personal friend of Talleyrand's, kept him well informed on all the events in Paris; his letters are sensational and amusing, but do not show much political wisdom. He belonged to the class of *nouvellistes* whom La Bruyère had already painted—men who begin every conversation with the words, "Is there anything new?" and who make news when there is none. He was also a political Cassandra, for ever predicting catastrophes, and complaining of everything and everybody.

Though Talleyrand contributed powerfully to the creation of the kingdom of Belgium, assured its neutrality, and helped to choose its dynasty, he never really believed much in his own creation. In a confidential letter to Mme. Adelaide he says: "There is no good *point d'appui* to be found in people as light-headed and turbulent as the Belgians. Belgium will perhaps come to us, but that will be later; to-day it is a secondary interest. The *force des choses* draws her to France, but we must first make France, and France can be made well and surely only by mingling with the great Powers which to-day claim her society, for this is what I have done in London. Do not let us abandon this position." I have seen other letters still unpublished, in which the same idea is visible, the feeling that there was no such thing as a Belgian nation, no such country as Belgium, and that the provinces which called themselves Belgium would sooner or later, by the law of gravitation, fall into the sphere of influence of France, and finally be annexed to it. Sixty years have now passed since Talleyrand entertained these views, which, of course, he never produced officially, and Belgium has not justified his prophecy. The Belgians have really developed into a nation; they have made no revolution; they have remained faithful to the Coburg dynasty. During the same period the French have changed their government four times. What would have happened if they had not, can only be conjectured.

There are interesting details in this fourth volume on the parliamentary incidents which accompanied the introduction of the Reform Bill in England. Talleyrand was thoroughly acquainted with English society, and though he speaks of English affairs only in connection with his own objects, he enters here and there into details which have a general interest. The volume ends with the marriage of Prince Leopold to a daughter of Louis Philippe, Princess Louise. Thus all the conflicting interests seemed to be reconciled, and for a moment (but only for a moment) the famous words of Voltaire's 'Candide' might have been repeated: "Tout

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est pour le mieux dans le meilleur des mondes possible."

ITALIAN WINE-MAKING.

MARSALA, December 6, 1891.

AMERICANS visiting Palermo for the Exposition cannot do better, if interested in vine-culture and wine-manufacturing, than take a train for Marsala and spend a few days in the province of Trapani in order to understand the entire history of the bright, clear, topaz-colored "Marsala" from its birth to its consumption on their own tables. It is a curious fact that in this province, where wine abounds, where every peasant and laborer drinks one or two glasses twice per day, you never meet a drunken person. All the prefects who come from other parts of Italy, the syndics, the employers of labor, bear testimony to the total absence of drunkenness; nor do the statistics which register but too many "crimes of bloodshed" show that any of these crimes have been committed under the influence of drink. Once this was the proud boast of all Italian provinces, and is recorded by T. A. Trollope, who spent more than forty years in Italy; but since the failure of the vintages, one year after another, and the substitution, by speculators, unchecked by Government, of villanous compounds of spirit distilled from maize, potatoes, etc., to which sugar and coloring matter, often poisonous, are added, and which are sold for wine, northern villages and towns are sadly deteriorated in this respect, and from Saturday night to Monday morning the streets resound with drunken cries and songs; while *there* most of the crimes on record are committed "under the influence of drink."

Sicily, once the granary of the Romans, has been for many years unable to compete with America and Russia in wheat. Once the largest cultivator of tobacco, the Sicilians have ploughed up their plantations since the Italian Government, extending its monopoly to the island, rendered its culture unprofitable and irksome, owing to the fiscal regulations introduced. Then, with the vine disease in France, came large demands for Sicilian wines, less for actual consumption than for the manufacture of French wines made from the juice of the Italian grape. Hence, wheat fields, sumach plantations, and, alas, olive, lemon, and orange groves, were ploughed up, and in five years the amount of land laid out in vineyards was nearly doubled. One-tenth of the entire island is vineland; of the Province of Palermo, one-sixth; probably one-fourth of the Commune of Marsala is devoted to the culture of vines. Indeed, the whole of the flat, stony country is honeycombed with vineyards, the vines being planted about a metre and a half apart, at right angles, each vine being in the centre of the hollow; the soil hoed four or five times a year, so as to keep the roots free of weeds, and so placed as to catch all the moisture of dew and rainfalls, exposed at the same time to the scorching sun rays of the summer months preceding the vintage. Here peasant proprietors are very numerous, as the capital required is not large. A peasant can build his own house cheap with the sandstone of the country—square stone buildings of one story, with slanting roofs, one, two, or three rooms sufficing, according to the size of the family. In the same room you see the *palmento*, or wine-press, one or two metres high, paved with brick or stone, with a clay pipe inserted in a hole for the must to run into the vats; on the opposite side of the room, the *torchio*, or squeezer, where the husks, put into rough rush baskets, are piled and squeezed; then the remainder are dried and sold for the extraction of cream of tartar. This is the home of the poorest peasantry; the men sleep in one room, the women in another; all live exclusively on the produce of the vineyard, so that the price of the must is the great question of the year.

In larger vine-farms the *palmento* is in the courtyard, and the pipe leads off the must into the cellars. The process is still very primitive. The wine-maker steps into the press with thick, heavy, hobnailed boots, holding a stick wherewith to balance himself, and treads out the juice till no more can be expressed. This first must is kept separate from the remainder obtained by the crusher, as the latter is not approved of by the tasters and purchasers, who detect it at once. It is while the grape-treading goes on that the peasant adds the *gesso*, or sulphate of lime, about which there is such a hue and cry just now, and which is forbidden by law save to the extent of two per thousand. It has been used from time immemorial to prevent the wine from turning acid in the fermentation. *Falstaff* in "Henry IV." exclaims: "You rogue, there is lime in this sack, too." The manufacturers of Marsala say that some difference ought to be allowed for their strong wines in comparison with the weaker wines of continental Italy, and are already complaining that the enforced absence of *gesso* detracts from the preservation of the must. It is certainly the only extraneous matter introduced into Sicilian wines, as the abundance is such that the country people never make the second wine, as in the north, by the addition of water and sugar. Indeed, since the decreased exportation, owing partly to the rupture of commercial relations with France, and partly, nay, chiefly, to the fact that the French have conquered the vine diseases and replanted their vineyards, there is often more wine than receptacles to hold it. As a rule, the small producers sell their wine when it is a few days old to the large wine-manufacturers, of which the chief in Marsala are the well-known firms of Whitehouse, Ingham Whitaker, and Florio, who, according to their own special receipts, make the wine known as Marsala under different names.

To John Woodhouse, the son of a Liverpool merchant, belongs the merit of the first *baglio*, or wine factory, at Marsala, which he established in 1773, sending to England in the following year sixty barrels of wine. During Nelson's command of the fleet, Woodhouse was his wine-purveyor, supplying the fleet in 1800 with 2,000 hectolitres of Marsala at one time. All the documents are carefully preserved in the archives of the house, and there is posted up the original contract between the Right Hon. Rear-Admiral Horatio Lord Nelson, K.B., Duke of Bronte in Sicily, with John and William Woodhouse, merchants of Marsala, 19th March, 1800, to furnish his Majesty's ships off Malta with five hundred pipes of the best Marsala wine. To this there is a postscript in Nelson's own hand: "The wine shall be delivered as expeditiously as possible, and also to be delivered within the space of five weeks from this date; a convoy will be wanted for the vessel from Marsala, but all risks are to be run by Messrs. Woodhouse. *Bronte Nelson.*"

The success of the Woodhouses soon attracted another Englishman to Marsala, and Benjamin Ingham of York soon vied with his rival, devoting the greatest attention to the amelioration of the manufacture of wine. Reading his rules to-day, we can only wish that they were applied rigorously to all wine-manufactories throughout Italy. They are strictly adhered to by all the great manufacturers of Marsala wine, but, alas, too much neglected by the small producers, who do not take any care about the cleanliness of their vessels, nor attend to the very necessary caution of propping up the branches of the vines when the grapes are ripening, so as to avoid the earthy taste of the wine.

Benjamin Ingham was the first to initiate the wine trade with the United States, Brazil, and transatlantic regions in general. He it was, also, who first noted the praiseworthy efforts of Vincenzo Florio, now a name of world-wide renown, and here called the "Father of Sicilian commerce." So far from showing any jealousy, Ingham joined with him in the attempt to create a navigation company, now the hope and pride of Sicily. Vincenzo Florio, nothing daunted by the old-established manufactories or *baglios* flourishing at Marsala, pitched his tent in the midst, *i. e.*, built his *baglio* precisely between those of Woodhouse and Ingham. And to-day, as I write from the terrace of the *baglio* Ingham Whitaker, side by side with that of Florio, now the property of the grandson millionaire, and can see the Woodhouse establishment beyond, a fresh proof of the affinity between the Italian and Anglo-Saxon natures is afforded. These three houses are rivals; each desires that his special Marsala shall supply native and foreign markets; yet there are no petty squabbles, no tricky manœuvres to undersell each other, and in all that relates to the workmen, who are well paid and cared for, to the fixing of the price of must, to the benefit of Marsala, the three firms work hand in hand. Not long since they spent 50,000 lire in paving the chief street of Marsala, subscribing in equal portions. Many foreigners who come to Marsala to buy the "virgin wine" complain that these big *baglios* put the prices too high, and that, but for the three managers of Ingham Whitaker, Florio, and Woodhouse, they would be able to purchase from the vine growers at far lower prices. This is one of the beneficial effects of the harmony reigning between the English and Italian houses. The price of "natural" wine has fallen off fearfully since 1884. At times it has been as high as 130 lire; last year it fell to 50 lire per butt of four hectolitres; this year it is fixed at 55 lire. The three managers meet and agree to what will be a fair price, and below that no one is able to go. If these big purchasers undersold or rather underbought each other, the poor vine-growers would be reduced to the pitiful state of the proprietors of the wine district of the Puglie, who, with some fifty millions of new wine in their vats, have to sell it at 20 and 30 lire per butt, and think themselves lucky if they find a market at that price.

These big *baglios*, with Giacone Anselmi and a few other smaller ones, have more or less the same system of making their wine. It is a far more difficult and delicate process than is generally imagined. That cleanliness is next to godliness is the rule of all, though in northern Italy the idea has taken root that fermentation removes all impurities, and that you may trust to the pouring must into a barrel to remove all foulness. All the cooperage is done in the establishments, the American white oak being now used exclusively. It is imported in staves, while the iron hoops are imported from Liverpool. The chestnut from the forests of the Apennines is the only Italian wood that can compete with it for tastelessness and durability.

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Some of the grapes are grown on the estates of the three firms; many more purchased. The chief object of this is to obtain the first must, which, as soon as it is expressed from the grapes, is carried to immense copper cauldrons, well tinned, and there heated artificially till the must in three cauldrons is reduced to the capacity of one, and becomes a thick, clear syrup, sweet and bright. The Marsala as we know it is a composition of old wine, of which the *baglios* have each a separate store kept in enormous casks, never full to the brim lest the wine should lose its bouquet. Some of these wines are fifty-five years old, and as this is taken out for use the casks are replenished with wine never less than six years old. With the old wine is mixed the newer growths, and, according to the tastes of the various markets, more or less of the sweet liquor is added, more or less alcohol, which is entirely distilled from wine on the premises. In olden times much of the spirit was purchased from abroad, but since the imposition of enormous duties to the amount of three times the value of the spirit, the manufacturers find it safer and cheaper to distil their own. This also is heavily taxed, but not in so high a proportion. For the wine exported the tax is refunded, and here the English houses have the advantage, as most of their wines go abroad, whereas that of Florio, which is most popular in Italy, gets a drawback of only 20 or 30 per cent. on home-manufactured alcohol. The manufacture of Italian brandy is now begun by this enterprising Florio firm, so that pure brandy will soon be obtainable in Italy in place of the poisonous stuff now sold as French brandy. This will be made exclusively from wine distilled on the premises. It is not yet on sale, as the firm determined not to put any in the market under three years old, but it will doubtless oust French productions from the Italian markets.

The Ingham Whitaker firm is now composed of the three grandnephews of old Benjamin Ingham, and they may almost be considered Italians, as they reside in Palermo, where they have done much for the country of their adoption by setting on foot infant schools, and the *Educatorio Whitaker* for the training of Sicilian school-mistresses for infant and elementary schools. The present manager is Mr. Charles Forsyth Gray, British Vice-Consul, from whom I obtained a real insight into the system of manufacture. Perhaps one of the greatest arts of the trade is the faculty of tasting the wines at the various country vineyards. This once done by the manager in person, the firm sends its own casks to receive the wine, the firms often advance money to wine-growers in order to help them, and buyers and sellers are on most excellent terms. Apart from this Marsala manufacture, a new attempt is being made by small Italian firms to sell the natural wines of the year—the *vin di taglio*, as they are called. The French say that they no longer need Italian wine, but that they buy it under the rose is pretty well ascertained. A number of Swiss came over with the intention of setting up an establishment, but found it easier and cheaper to purchase from a firm which hitherto had dealt only in *vin di concio*. Lipari & Co. agreed to furnish pure Sicilian wine of the year at moderate prices, and they have already shipped thirty thousand hectolitres to Marseilles, whence it is *supposed* to pass to Switzerland. If this traffic increases, it will be of immense importance to the vine-growers who have abandoned, as was said, their old crops for this almost too exclusive culture of the vine. I am speaking now exclusively of Marsala, where these *baglios* form a distinctive feature in the landscape. All are huge edifices, situated on the sea with quays and wharfs in front; they are well secured by walls and gates, the outside walls loopholed, with towers at the corners well able to defend the enormous amount of wine in the magazines, valued in each at from $2,500,000 to $3,000,000. Until the last fifteen years the defence was sorely needed.

I have just had a last look at the Woodhouse stores to see the big round balls flung in by the Bourbons from their steamers *after* the landing of Garibaldi and his thousand from Piedmont and Lombardy on May 11, 1860, and am concluding my letter at the table where the two English captains were dining when the bombardment commenced. They, from the stone terrace running at the top of the buildings, signalled to the Bourbon commanders that they must cease their firing until they had gained their respective ships, the *Argos* and the *Intrepid!* Meanwhile, some old "wounded" and other comrades of various Garibaldian campaigns are preparing carriages for a thorough Garibaldian expedition, as, instead of taking the railroad, we are to go by highways and byways from Marsala to Salemi, from thence to Calatafimi, Alcemo, Partenico, passing through Monreale, to alight by the Admiral's bridge in Palermo.

To Marsala belongs the distinction of declaring the downfall of the Bourbon dynasty, and the proclamation of Garibaldi Dictator, while at Salemi was proclaimed the unity of Sicily with Italy under the constitutional government of Victor Emmanuel. J. W. M.

Correspondence.

PRACTICAL ILLUSTRATION.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: If any of your readers want an object-lesson as to the meaning of the word "anarchy," they have only to turn their eyes towards Washington. Taking the holidays into account, one month of the session has been consumed in making preparations to get ready to go to work. Not till after the New Year will the standing committees be even ready to receive business, which will then pour in upon them in a flood like the Atlantic Ocean, and with almost as little distinction of its component parts—"rari nantes in gurgite vasto." The simile will bear carrying out, except as to the word "rari" as applied to the participants.

The contest for the Speakership was not a question of the national parties of Republicans and Democrats. The Democrats had it all in their own hands, and they turned it into a faction fight among themselves. If I read the papers correctly, the man who won (and most significant it is) is not he who had the most of national reputation or might have been looked to to guard best the national interests, but the man to whom the private interests rallied most strongly. And how completely he is the slave of the private interests which elected him, to judge again by the comments of all the papers which are not wholly given up to party, is shown by the make-up of the standing committees. If one thing can be predicted with confidence of this Congress, it is that the country is about to receive a sharp lesson that it makes very little difference whether the majority in Congress is called Democratic or Republican, inasmuch as both alike are as wax in the hands of the lobby.

Whether the country, or any considerable part of it, will thereby be led to see that the real enemy to be encountered is the lobby, and that the conflict will require not only the whole strength of the popular will, but the organization of that will under national and official leaders, the first step towards which is to place on the floor of Congress national representatives in the shape of the officers of the Cabinet, is, of course, by no means so clear. G. B.

Boston, December 26, 1891.

PROF. MARSHALL'S DRAWINGS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Allow me to thank you for the *Nation* of December 3, just received.

The paragraph in it relating to the art anatomy drawings belonging to my late husband, Prof. John Marshall, is, however, misleading, and I must ask you to have the kindness to correct it. It is inferred that I am obliged to part with these diagrams for pecuniary reasons, which is very far from being the case. They are really too valuable for instructive purposes to be allowed to lie idle, and this was the sole reason for my wishing to dispose of them.

If you will kindly insert this letter at your earliest convenience, you will much oblige

Yours truly, Ellen E. Marshall.

Belle Vue House, Cheyne Walk, London, S. W., December 14, 1891.

A TYPOGRAPHICAL ERROR IN 'CRANFORD.'

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: *De minimis lex non curat*—but the principle does not hold of the lovers of 'Cranford'; and who that knows it is not a lover of that delightful book? I opened the new edition of Messrs. Macmillan, so sympathetically and intelligently illustrated, and there (alas!) met my eye the old exasperating misprint, probably originally the emendation of some over-shrewd proof-reader. We all remember the *lion* with black currant eyes which witnessed to the sympathy and devotion of Martha, and we feel the gratification it was to her to see it appreciated when it reappeared "sliced and fried" the day after; but what sentimental interest is there in cold "loin" (page 264)?

Perhaps the good-natured publishers will revise their plates and give us this English classic without blemish.—I am yours, etc.,

A. B. N.

Harvard University, December 21, 1891.

BOBBIN AND LATCH-STRING.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I notice that in Perrault's original version of "Little Red Riding Hood" the grandmother says to the wolf, "Tire la chevillette, la bobinette cherra." This, I understand, means, "Pull the pin and the bobbin will fall." The English translation, "from the seventh edition," New York, 1797, reads, "Pull the bobbin and the latch will fly up." Of course two different modes of closing the door are indicated. In the first, there is a pin pushed or twirled, and the bobbin inside falls. What mechanism was this? In the second, evidently, a string is pulled from the outside, and the latch is lifted. I am desirous of knowing, since dictionaries avail not, the time when this form of latch went into use, and when the string was superseded by the lever-movement of a thumb-piece now in vogue. I am told that this string arrangement was in use during the present century, and a bobbin or bob or ball would naturally be tied

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on the exterior end. Yet I seem to remember some reference to the custom of drawing in the string as a protection, and a button on the end would be inconvenient. On the other hand, surely the phrase of having the latch-string out is synonymous with hospitality.

I should like some information as to the use, *in print*, of the word "bobbin," as applied to the string or appendant to it, or of the phrases "to draw in the latch-string" and "to leave the latch-string out." In *Notes and Queries*, 3d S., iii., 46, a writer says that a young lady declared in his presence that she would never marry; but her grandmother replied: "It is no use holding the latch when nobody pulls at the string." This is a variation of the phrase, but clearly refers to the custom.

Yours respectfully, W. H. W.

Notes.

Ticknor & Co., Boston, invite subscriptions to 'The Norman Monuments of Palermo and Environs,' by Arne Delhi and G. H. Chamberlain, architects, in four parts, with fifty measured drawings, several cuts in the text, and many photographic views. The edition will be limited.

Thomas Hardy's new story, 'Tess of the D'Urbervilles,' which has been running in *Harper's Bazar*, will be published early next month by the Messrs. Harper.

'Abraham Lincoln' (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.) is Mr. Carl Schurz's striking *Atlantic* essay recast, and judiciously divested of the appearance of a review of Messrs. Hay and Nicolay's biography. As it now stands, it ranks, in matter and in style, among the very best short appreciations of the career and character of the great President. Within a little more than a hundred pages of open print, nearly everything essential is touched upon of historic incident or controversy in Lincoln's life, by one, too, who knew him and was an actor with him in the great drama of the civil war. Were there need to comment on this essay afresh, we should perhaps desiderate a brief list of Lincoln's abortive measures for avoiding the simple duty of emancipation, and we should object to the running justification of them along with his tardy progress to the inevitable step by reference to the necessity of his not outstripping the "plain people." This is really the excuse of a politician, not of a statesman, and how dangerous it is may be judged from our unhappy experience with greenbacks, silver, and pensions, and from the universal annals of demagogy. At the end of line 13, page 52, an intrusive *not* demands the attention of the publishers, who, we will remark in closing, would do a good service if they would also make a book, to be bracketed with Mr. Schurz's, of Horace Greeley's not less remarkable posthumous estimate of Lincoln in a late number of the *Century*.

Macmillan & Co. bring out Archibald Forbes's 'Barracks, Bivouacs, and Battles,' a reprint of a series of his most taking stories and experiences as a war correspondent which originally appeared in various English periodicals. His world-wide journeyings have taken him from the Himalayas to Zulu-land, and from the Balkans to the American Desert. Perfectly at home in camp-life of an English dragoon regiment or at the Czar's headquarters in Bulgaria, he gives real life to every incident and truest color to every experience. His imaginary tales have all the *verve* of the actual and the personal, and his veritable journeys are as exciting as any fiction. His chapters range from grave to gay, and abound in local instruction and information as to the most diverse lands and peoples.

Mr. Geo. Edward Mannering has given the form of a diary to his volume, 'With Axe and Rope in the New Zealand Alps' (Longmans), a very vivid account of five unsuccessful attempts to ascend Mt. Aorangi (ordinarily known as Mt. McCook), the highest point in New Zealand. The last attempt carried him very near the summit, but left just enough unaccomplished to whet the appetite of other explorers. No new light is shed by the author upon the general subject of glaciers, but the reader will receive from the perusal of the volume a new impression of their marvellous flexibility and power; while the illustrations (of which there are nineteen excellent full-page reproductions of photographs) are in themselves amply worth the price of the book.

Though not intimated in the book, 'A Summer in Alaska,' by Frederick Schwatka, published by John Y. Huber Company of Philadelphia, is a new issue of 'Along Alaska's Great River,' by F. Schwatka, published in 1885. Three new chapters are added, but the index is the old one, and does not contain any reference to the new matter. The date of the expedition, 1883, has been removed from the title-page and preface, and two maps left out.

P. Blakiston, Son & Co., Philadelphia, publish the seventh edition of 'The Microscope and its Revelations,' by the late Dr. Wm. B. Carpenter, F.R.S. The editor is the Rev. W. H. Dallinger, LL.D., recently President of the Royal Microscopical Society of London, well known for his important investigations of flagellate monads in connection with Dr. Drysdale. It would be impossible to find an Englishman better fitted to carry on the work of his deceased compatriot and friend. His delicate investigations called for the expert use of widest-angled lenses, aided by every resource which ingeniously devised accessory apparatus could lend. On every question of the construction of the microscope, whether of the stand, of the lenses, or of the accessories, he is an acknowledged authority. The first half of Carpenter's standard treatise has been rewritten, so as to include full exposition of the great improvements in the instrument which have marked the last twenty years, and a most interesting history of its earliest forms. In the second part, which gives the "Revelations of the Microscope," there was not room for so great change, though here too the additions by the editor are neither few nor small. The illustrations draw freely upon the resources of photo-micrography and are wonderfully abundant and excellent. The book is more than ever a standard, unrivalled in its kind, and is a necessity to every one who pretends to any scientific use of the microscope. It has grown to a stout octavo of over a thousand pages.

Some three years ago we commended warmly to our readers an article by H. Zimmer in the *Preussische Jahrbücher* for January, 1887, on the part played by Irish monks in early mediæval culture, and expressed the wish that it might be translated. Our wish has been gratified. We have before us 'The Irish Element in Mediæval Culture,' translated from Zimmer by Jane Loring Edmands (Putnams). This dainty little volume of 140 pages we commend no less warmly than we did the German original. In some features it is an improvement on the original. Mrs. Edmands has supplied an index, which will greatly facilitate ready reference; also, some additional notes, one or two of which are of considerable length, and illustrate Zimmer's position happily. So far as we have had occasion to compare original and translation, we have found the rendering at once faithful and easy. We congratulate Mrs. Edmands on her good work. We also hope that our non-German readers will avail themselves of the opportunity. The story of Irish missionary labors here told has the charm of romance.

We have been remiss in not mentioning sooner the 'Bibliographical Catalogue of Macmillan & Co.'s Publications from 1843 to 1889,' prepared for this eminent firm by their assistant, Mr. James Foster. It forms an octavo volume of 714 pages, and, in a chronological arrangement, displays the extraordinary product of this one firm with the most scrupulous detail as to title, edition, reprint, etc. An author-index provides a key to the treasure-house. We are not aware that another such bibliography exists; we are quite sure that the general level of the publications here recorded would with difficulty be matched by any publishing house in any part of the world. The 'Catalogue' has been as carefully and beautifully manufactured as any work on the list, and contains two portrait of Daniel and Alexander Macmillan.

The first volume of a supplement to Bartsch's 'Peintre-Graveur' has just appeared (Berlin: Albert Cohn; New York: Christern). It is by W. L. Schreiber, and is entitled 'Manuel de l'amateur de la Gravure sur bois et sur métal au xv. siècle.' No attention is paid to playing-cards or to book illustrations, but the author has found ten years none too long a time for his task. What is to come is a list of block-books and an historical essay on the origin and progress of relief engraving, completing five volumes, with a sixth of reproductions, at 15 francs per volume.

Although the Americans are now a good second to the French, there is still no city where the "posters," the pictorial advertisements displayed on the walls, are as artistic or as brilliant as they are in Paris; and this is chiefly because the chief Parisian designer of these lithographed placards is M. Jules Cheret, an artist of indisputable originality, taste, and *verve*. Several years ago M. Maindron published a book about pictorial posters, and since then the number has increased of those who collect these most perishable of all artistic productions. Where there are collectors, dealers to supply them are rarely wanting. The chief dealer in "posters" is M. Ed. Sagot, 18 Rue Guénégaud, Paris, who has just published a priced catalogue of 'Affiches Illustrées,' which is also annotated and illustrated with fifteen inserted illustrations by M. Cheret, by "Willette," and by M. Grasset. Subscribers to the catalogue receive also a superb two-sheet poster by M. Cheret, one of his most effective compositions. To M. Cheret is due also the cover of M. Sagot's catalogue, as *chic* a composition as the most ultra-Parisian could wish for.

'Ares Isländerbuch,' edited by Wolfgang Golter (Halle: Niemeyer), is the first number of the "Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek" which is to appear under the joint editorship of Gustaf Cederschiöld of Lund, Hugo Gering of Kiel, and Eugen Mogk of Leipzig. In an introduction of twenty-eight pages Dr. Golter gives an account of Are's life and works, his literary character and significance, and all available information concerning the manuscripts and editions of the 'Íslendingabóc.' This is followed by the Icelandic text, with critical and historical footnotes, and remarks on its transmission, extracts referring to Are from the 'Heimskringla,' frag-

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ments from the older 'Íslendingabóc,' supplements to the manuscript from various sources, and a chronological table of the history of Iceland from its discovery by the Vikings in 860 till Are's death in 1148. There is also a list of the *lögsögomenn*, with their terms of office, from 930 to 1138, and a complete index of proper, geographical, and genealogical names. This library is to contain historical sagas, mythical sagas, and romantic sagas, such as the Mágus saga and the Parzevals saga, which are especially important for the comparative history of literature. An admirable beginning has been made with the 'Íslendingabóc,' which ranks high as an early specimen of historical composition, and is really remarkable for a period when such records consisted almost exclusively of dreary monkish chronicles.

Natura ed Arte is the title of a new fortnightly review just launched at Milan by Francesco Villardi, the editorship being at Rome.

The *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for December contains a suggestive paper on Acclimatization by Dr. R. W. Felkin, in which the conclusion is reached that it is possible for any European race to become acclimatized in any tropical region. This cannot be done at once, however; but the same procedure must be adopted which has proved successful with animals and plants, of transporting picked adults to certain intermediate stations. In this way northern Europeans might, step by step, generation by generation, become acclimatized in 100 years in tropical India or Africa. There follows an interesting account of the Machinga, one of the tribes inhabiting the Shiré Highlands in British Central Africa, by Mr. R. S. Hynde, a resident Scotch missionary. The system under which they live he describes as a transition stage between the matriarchal and the patriarchal. "Each person belongs to a clan and is not allowed to marry into his own clan." The children belong to the mother's clan, and a man's property and position descend not to his own son, but to the son of his eldest sister. A man when he marries settles in his wife's village, so that daughters, not sons, are a source of strength. Their language, which has some affinities with the Swahili or coast language, has been reduced to writing, and a grammar and vocabulary have been published, together with translations of portions of the New Testament and several school-books containing many of their folk-lore stories.

Lord Lamington's account of his adventurous journey through the northern Shan States to Tong-king is the only paper in the December Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society. In much of the country traversed, the sparse population is apparently decreasing through the prevalence of dacoity, and a vast and almost impenetrable jungle is fast encroaching upon the once cultivated valleys. The most noteworthy result of the journey, however, was the evidence obtained of the advance of the French towards the Burmese frontier. Their posts were found even in territory long claimed by Siam, but are evidently difficult to maintain against the dacoits, or "pirates," as the French term them. Whether these "pirates" are really robbers, or simply patriots striving to throw off a hated foreign yoke, Lord Lamington diplomatically declines to say.

In the November number of the *Green Bag*, the Supreme Court of New Jersey being under consideration historically, it is stated that "every chief justice since the Revolution, with one exception (the present incumbent), has been a Presbyterian. The very great majority of the associate justices have also been Presbyterians, and many of them elders in their churches. Nearly all who were educated at colleges, graduated at Princeton."

L. Prang & Co. send us a 'Mother Goose Calendar,' with a background gracefully composed by Miss Laura C. Hills. But they ought not to ask, as they do in an accompanying "Art Note," "How many children know that Mother Goose was a real American grandmother, one Mrs. Goose, who lived at Boston at the beginning of the eighteenth century?" Nor to add the equally exploded fiction that "her son-in-law, who was a printer, collected her ballads in a book and sold it for two coppers."

The next meeting of the American Economic Association will be held at Chautauqua, probably on August 23-26.

The sixth International Art Exhibition will be held at Munich, Bavaria, in 1892, opening on the 1st of June and closing on the 31st of October. Works of art intended for exhibition must be announced on or before the middle of March, and sent in between the 1st and 15th of April. Applications must be made to the central committee of the Künstlergenossenschaft, Briennerstrasse, Munich, Bavaria, from whom all further information can be obtained. This exhibition occurs quadrennially, and should not be confounded with the recently organized annual exhibition, or so-called "Salon," to which it is vastly superior both in arrangement and in importance. We may add that the second annual exhibition, which closed on October 25, realized about 600,000 marks ($150,000) on the sale of works of art, and may, therefore, be regarded as fairly successful from a financial point of view.

—The ghost story has, for reasons lost in the night of time, been a standard and classic accompaniment of the celebration of the merry Christmas season by our race. The tendency of all editorial, "reportorial," "authorial" (as Mr. Wanamaker would say), and, as we may add, "publisherial," enterprises to-day is towards a certain enormousness. And Mr. Stead, as editor of his peculiarly enormous *Review of Reviews*, has fairly outdone himself in the character of his extra Christmas number. "Real Ghost Stories" is its title; and the number of apparitions which figure in the hundred pages of which it consists is something without a precedent. Not Gothic ghosts, either, half visible in the shadow of "haunted chambers"; no sheeted forms, no clanking chains, no accompaniment of terror-stricken dogs, no suggestion of unexpiated crimes and souls in torture, are here. The procession of supernatural visitants moves, on the contrary, at a rattling pace, in a bright, brisk, modern light, subdivided by head-lines, and escorted by corroborative documents and facsimiles of photographs of the seers, of the persons whose ghosts appeared, of the localities affected, and the like. The atmosphere of the daily newspaper, in short, is substituted for that of the feudal castle. It is always a lively day for a subject when Mr. Stead takes it in hand—*something* has got to happen. These ghosts are a case in point. Not content with drawing on the published literature, he has made himself a sort of Society for Psychical Research on his own account, and a very large proportion of the cases he presents are those of his own collecting. They make, on the whole, a striking array—all the more so for the portraits. Portraits are a great feature in Mr. Stead's intensely personal way of handling questions. It should be said to his credit that he usually takes pains to get good ones to copy. Prof. Sidgwick's, in this number, is very good, but Edmund Gurney's, by an exception, is from an abominable drawing, not from a photograph. Mr. Stead gives us, among others, striking pictures of the famous Léonie, M. Janet's somnambulist, in both her trance and waking states. This number of the *Review of Reviews* is well calculated to shake the settled incredulity of many about apparitions, and it will increase that willingness to reëxamine the evidence for "the supernatural" which is beginning to be so marked a feature in all countries to-day. The pamphlet is particularly strong in stories of the appearance of the "double"—a "superstition" which the theosophists have taken under their special protection, and for which, sooth to say, the evidence offered appears on the face of it to be far from contemptible.

—The latest volume in the series of *classiques populaires* published by Lecène & Oudin, is Édouard Rod's account of Dante. M. Rod has lectured at Geneva on modern Italian literature, and, like the late Edmond Scherer, has won his laurels as a trained scholar and critic in several modern literatures, but this is one of his first excursions into regions where he competes with the philologian and the historical specialist. The result is in the main satisfactory. In two hundred pages he tells us what is known about Dante's life, and summarizes briefly his minor works and the 'Divine Comedy,' without important error or omission, without entering into the discussión of mooted questions, and with a clear idea of what the general reader wants most to know. Indeed, the only rival of M. Rod's little book, from this point of view, is Mr. Symonds's 'Dante,' and even here, in spite of Mr. Symonds's larger knowledge, M. Rod's simplicity and self-control in the carrying of his plan often turn the balance in his favor. Dante may have been a mystic, he seems to say, but let us not write of him mystically. But neither Rod's sketch nor Symonds's is final, any more than Scartazzini's or Gaspary's. The modern man of letters, with all his trained skill of hand and suppleness of mind, must fail in the attempt, involving enormous powers both of sympathy and of application, to reproduce in miniature Dante and the century of which he was bone and flesh, and apart from which he is inconceivable. The specialists—Scartazzini, for instance—are too often devoid of general knowledge and of sympathy. They annotate authoritatively, but they cannot be brought to feel what from their stores of knowledge the student of general literature needs to know. Between the two stools the ordinary reader must still fall. Homer he may learn to understand, and Virgil and Shakspere, but not Dante. The road to him—in French, German, English, or even Italian—is still anything but a royal highway. In make-up M. Rod's essay is deficient, for it lacks an index, or even a detailed table of contents.

—The new edition of 'Lessing's Werke,' in twelve volumes, prepared by Prof. Franz Muncker of the University of Munich, and published by Goeschen (Stuttgart), is a model of elegance and a marvel of cheapness. It is printed on good paper with ample margins and large clean-cut type, and costs unbound only eighteen marks, or about thirty-seven cents a volume. It contains all of Lessing's writings that are of any interest or value to scholars of to-day. The text has been thoroughly revised

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and corrected by a collation of the best manuscripts and original imprints, and will satisfy in this respect the demands of the severest criticism. In a biographical sketch of some thirty pages Prof. Muncker gives an admirable survey of Lessing's life, with a fair estimate of his character and influence, and assigns him his proper and doubtless permanent place in German literature. His treatment of the subject shows excellent taste and fine discernment, and never lets appreciation, however earnest and ardent, degenerate into fulsome and undiscriminating panegyric. Equally concise and commendable are the introductions by Karl Goedeke, which precede each volume or section of the work, and in which Lessing's point of view in relation to the several topics is clearly stated. These brief discussions of Lessing's attitude to literature, art, theology, poetry, and criticism serve to orient the reader and help him to a fuller understanding of what follows. Lessing, as Lowell has well said, "is no exclusive property of Germany," but "an ennobling possession of mankind," and "every year since he was laid prematurely in the earth has seen his power for good increase, and made him more precious to the hearts and intellects of men." The first volume has a well-executed portrait.

—We have had frequent occasion of late years to chronicle the labors of G. H. Balg in promoting the study of Gothic in this country. First came his translation of Braune's Grammar; next, his Glossary, begun in 1887 and finished in 1889; and now we are presented with Wulfila's Bible and the other remains of the language. The work may be procured of the author, Milwaukee, Wis., or of B. Westermann & Co., New York. It contains the Gothic texts entire, a glossary of 174 pages, and 72 pages of syntax. The present glossary is an abridgment of the previous one, but although smaller and therefore less rich in citations, it is much superior in certain features. The author has not only rectified his slips in the larger work, but he has given to it a more practical arrangement. The words, including the compound verbs, are in strict alphabetical order. The student will not have to hunt for each compound under its simplex. At the same time we think that the editor would have done well to append to each simplex a list of its compounds. This would not have cost him much space nor much effort. The Syntax is by far the best treatment of this subject that we possess. Our only general criticism of it would be that it fails to separate what is genuine Germanic syntax from what may be mere slavish following of the Greek. But perhaps the time has not yet come for the final separation. Evidently the author's chief concern has been to give the student the *facts* of the syntax with great fulness and precision. The interesting nominative absolute introduced in § 121 should have been mentioned also in § 13.

—Balg's text is based, of course, upon Bernhardt's, differing only for good reasons. Occasionally we miss a needed explanation. For instance, what are the mysterious marginal lg=33, ld=34, etc., beginning with Matt. v., 17? We conjecture that they designate the Ammonian sections mentioned by Bernhardt, p. xli. In at least one instance the editor's language is misleading. The note to John ix., 7, reads: "Swumfsl; swumsl *in C A for original* swumslf." The "original" might suggest to the student that "swumslf" was the primitive and etymological form of the word, which is, of course, impossible. Bernhardt's language on the point is not much happier, but it suggests at least a correcter meaning, viz., that the scribe wrote blunderingly "swumslf" and corrected to "swumsl." At any rate neither Bernhardt nor Balg is justified in "restoring" the *f*. Whether the student, at any stage of his study, can dispense altogether with the Greek-Itala text, is a moot point. We admit the force of the editor's personal justification (p. vi. of his preface). Yet we also believe that a practical compromise would have been possible—that is, the editor might have cited the Greek-Itala, either in foot-notes or in his glossary, in passages of more than ordinary difficulty. Those who know anything of the editor's private circumstances will read between the lines of his preface with a feeling of shame. It is not to the credit of our so-called higher learning that any one evincing such steadfastness of aim and generous self-devotion should be suffered to linger in unrewarded and chilling obscurity. A suitable position and adequate facilities in some one of our leading universities ought to be his portion. His plea for a more extensive knowledge of Gothic in this country has been anticipated in at least one institution, where Gothic is insisted on as a prerequisite to the study of English.

FROUDE'S 'DIVORCE OF CATHERINE OF ARAGON.'

The Divorce of Catherine of Aragon: the Story as told by the Imperial Ambassadors resident at the Court of Henry VIII. By J. A. Froude (being a supplementary volume to the author's 'History of England.') Charles Scribner's Sons. 1891.

ONCE more Mr. Froude calls upon us, in the fascinating language of which he is a master, to thread with him the labyrinth of intrigue connected with the divorce of Catherine of Aragon. The intrigue is of the very meanest, dirtiest, and in some parts of the obscurest kind, important only in its results, about which there can be no question. The investigation, therefore, which Mr. Froude invites us to renew, though it may have its attractions for lovers of historical scandal, promises little profit otherwise than as it may afford illustrations of character for the period, about the vilest in history (so far, at least, as courts and cabinets were concerned), which intervened between the fall of the Catholic morality and the rise of the Protestant morality in its place.

The divorce of Catherine of Aragon this episode is always called. But it should be remembered that what Henry sought, and the Pope refused, was not a divorce in the present sense of the term, but a declaration that the marriage of Henry with his brother's widow had been *ab initio* null and void. Supposing the marriage to have been good, the Pope had not, nor did anybody imagine that he had, power to dissolve it. Marriage in the Roman Church is a sacrament. The Pope could no more unmarry than he could unbaptize. It was not by open divorce, but by releasing parties from their marriages on the ground of alleged precontracts or fanciful affinities, that the Papacy, in its age of corruption, had practically introduced, for the classes wealthy enough to have recourse to its tribunals, a state of license. From the language held in Mr. Froude's History (vol i., p. 121), it appears that, strange as it may seem, he is under a complete misconception on this point, and imagines that the Pope was invested with a power of dissolving marriages which he was morally bound to exercise in cases where it was required by the supreme interest of nations, and which he ought to have exercised in the case of England, where, Catherine having ceased to bear children, there was no hope of a direct male heir to the Crown.

We cannot see that Mr. Froude supplies us with any fresh clue to the maze. Most of the new matter is derived from the despatches of Eustace Chapuys, the Imperialist Ambassador at the English Court. Chapuys being an Imperialist, and therefore an adverse witness, has been always discredited by Mr. Froude, who in his History set his evidence aside as that of "a bitter Catholic," and now quotes as decisive some words of Paget to the effect that the Ambassador is wanting in genuine wisdom, a vain babbler, and regardless of honesty and truth. That an envoy chosen by Charles V. for an important and difficult mission should not be strictly upright or veracious is likely enough; but it seems not so likely that he should be wanting in sagacity or reticence, nor is it probable that he lied to his master. We have pleasure in introducing to Mr. Froude's notice the recent work of Mr. Paul Friedmann on Anne Boleyn. Mr. Friedmann is not endowed with any particular grace of literary style; but he appears to us to possess *habits of conscientious inquiry, to make an* honest use of his authorities, and to be under the control of common sense and justice. We commend his volumes to those who may have uncritically accepted the portrait of Henry and the version of the history given by Mr. Froude. Mr. Friedmann challenges Mr. Froude's estimate of Chapuys, asserting that Mr. Froude advances no evidence for his assertions, that he makes Chapuys say of Henry VIII. the opposite of what he really says, that Chapuys may sometimes be wrong in his moral views, and may be given to repeating scandal, but that his statements of fact are always made on good authority. Mr. Friedmann also says that Mr. Froude's extracts are full of mistakes.

Henry wanted a male heir, and he wanted to marry Anne Boleyn, who would not, like the mother of the Duke of Richmond and perhaps other ladies, consent to become his mistress. Which of those motives first had birth in his mind, and which was the stronger of the two, it is alike needless and hopeless to inquire, *though it would seem that at an early* date Henry had conceived an interest in Anne which led to the interposition of his veto on her marriage with another. That of which we are as sure as we can be of anything relating to the internal springs of action, is that in this case scruples of conscience had little force. How came conscience, after its long silence, to speak so loud at the moment when the hope of a male heir had been abandoned and the connection with Anne Boleyn had begun? Was it conscience or the impatience of lust that commanded the King, before the marriage with Catherine had been dissolved, to outrage public decency by installing Anne in his palace and treating her as his affianced wife? Was it conscience which led him to use bribery and coercion in wringing from the universities of England and Europe opinions in favor of the divorce? It was at the time of the opening of the Legatine Court in England, when he was manifestly plying every engine to get rid of his hated wife, that he solemnly declared to the people, in his speech at Bridewell, that he loved Catherine with all his heart, and desired nothing better than to keep her as his consort, if only his conscience would permit him. Mr. Froude's attention has at last been called to

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the letters of Henry to Anne Boleyn, preserved in Hearne, but he still blinks the fact that in them, with a report of the King's conscientious studies in casuistical divinity, is mingled the coarsest language of sensual love.

There is one piece of evidence which is not new, but which Mr. Froude feels for the first time constrained, probably because it has been pressed by Mr. Brewer, to look in the face. In contemplation of the marriage of the King with Anne Boleyn, a draft dispensation was prepared in England and transmitted to Rome for adoption by the Pope. In it are these words:

"In order to take away all occasion from evil-doers, we do in the plenitude of our power hereby suspend *hâc vice* all canons forbidding marriage in the fourth degree; also all canons *de impedimento publicæ honestatis* preventing marriage in consequence of clandestine espousals; further, all canons relating to precontracts clandestinely made but not consummated; also, all canons affecting impediments created by affinity rising *ex illicito coitu* in any degree, even in the first, so far as the marriage to be contracted by you, the petitioner, can be objected to or in any wise be impugned by the same. Further, to avoid canonical objections on the side of the woman by reason of former contract clandestinely made, or impediment of public honesty or justice arising from such clandestine contract, or of an affinity contracted in any degree, even the first, *ex illicito coitu;* and in the event that it has proceeded beyond the second or third degrees of consanguinity, whereby otherwise you, the petitioner, would not be allowed by the canons to contract marriage, we hereby license you to take such woman for wife, and suffer you and the woman to marry free from all ecclesiastical objections and censures."

To unprejudiced eyes the meaning of these words, read in the light of current belief, seems pretty plain. "Clandestine espousals" and "precontract" refer to the passages between Anne Boleyn and Lord Percy before Anne's connection with the King. The "affinity contracted in any degree, even the first, *ex illicito coitu*," is that created between the King and Anne by the King's illicit connection with Anne's sister, Mary Boleyn. That the words were so construed at the time is clear from the letter of Dr. Ortiz from Rome to the Emperor cited by Mr. Paul Friedmann (vol. i., p. 65, note). Mr. Froude confidently proposes to treat the clause as mere "legal verbiage"—as the lawyers would say, common form. Let him produce another instrument of dispensation in which the same legal verbiage occurs. Is it credible, he asks, that the framers of the dispensation should have been foolish enough to introduce such a scandal into a public document? The answer is that they were driven to it by necessity, and that if, knowing the scandal to be abroad, they had introduced into a public document words so suggestive without necessity, they would have been fools indeed. "The accusation," Mr. Froude says, "was heard of only in the conversation of disaffected priests or secret visitors to the Spanish Ambassador." This is his usual mode of dealing with unfavorable evidence. It appears plainly from a passage in his present volume, page 234, as well as from other sources, that the charge was common talk. If Pole mentioned it in the second edition of his manifesto, and not in the first, that does not necessarily prove anything more than that between the two editions he had satisfied himself of the fact, as he might if he became acquainted with the clause in the draft dispensation. Supposing the obvious construction of the words to be the true one, the worshippers of Henry VIII. are certainly in a pitiable dilemma, for, as he must have been cognizant of the contents of the draft, its language would amount to an actual confession on his part. There would then be an end of his character and of his cause unless Mr. Froude should find it possible to maintain that incest, combined with the most revolting hypocrisy as well as judicial murder, was one of the "piteous necessities" of a beneficent revolution.

The construction of the dispensation which commends itself to ordinary minds seems to derive strong confirmation from a clause in the Act 28, Hen. VIII., c. 7, regulating the succession to the crown after the divorce and execution of Anne Boleyn. The condemnation of Anne for adultery and treason, though it sent her to the block, did not, it will be observed, serve to bastardize her daughter. To effect that object of high-minded statesmanship, it was necessary that her marriage with the King should be pronounced void. This was done by Cranmer in a secret sitting for a cause communicated to him by Anne, but never divulged. It may be taken as certain that the veil of secrecy covered something revolting. Now, in the Act of Succession, among the clauses relating to the specific matter of the Act, is curiously inserted one general in form on the subject of prohibited marriages. This clause enumerates the regular prohibitions on account of consanguinity or affinity, ending with that of a wife's sister. It then proceeds thus: "And further to dilate and declare the meaning of these prohibitions, it is to be understood that if it chance any man to know carnally any woman, then all and singular persons being in any degree of consanguinity or affinity (as above written) to any of the parties so carnally offending shall be deemed and adjudged to be within the case and limits of the said prohibitions of marriage." This "dilation," it will be seen, exactly covers the case which would be created by the illicit connection of the King with one sister and his subsequent marriage with the other. If it was not with a view to this case and in order to invalidate the King's marriage with Anne, thus bastardizing her daughter, that the clause was inserted into the Act of Succession, what was the object of its insertion? An abyss of infamy would thus be disclosed, but this will not be very startling to any one acquainted with the ethics and habits of those days. Mr. Froude himself, who finds it impossible to believe that Henry VIII. can have had connection with two sisters, has no difficulty in believing that Anne Boleyn not only committed incest with her brother, Lord Rochfoyd, but herself, as the indictment states, solicited him to the crime.

Of the question of right between Henry and Catherine, Mr. Froude thinks that he can dispose satisfactorily in the following manner:

"The case itself was peculiar, and opinions differed on the rights and wrongs of it. The reader must be from time to time reminded that, as the law of England has stood ever since, a marriage with a brother's widow was not a marriage. As the law of the Church then stood, it was not a marriage unless permitted by the Pope; and according to the same law of England, the Pope neither has nor ever had any authority to dispense with the law. Therefore Henry, on the abstract contention, was in the right."

Henry had taken Catherine as his wife under the ecclesiastical law of Latin Christendom, the nations of which then formed a federation for ecclesiastical purposes, and of that law the supreme tribunal, acknowledged by all, was the Roman Court. How could the subsequent marriage law of Protestant England retrospectively affect the law under which the marriage had been contracted, or the rights of either party to the marriage? To say that the Pope never had in Catholic England any dispensing authority in ecclesiastical cases would be sheer effrontery. Justice in the Roman Court was subject to perversion by political influence, it is true; not a whit less, but still more subject to perversion by political influence was the justice of the Court substituted by Henry for that of Rome. Cranmer was a mere creature of the King and Cromwell, appointed by them, not to hear the case fairly, but simply to deliver the judgment put by them into his mouth. Had he hesitated for a moment, they would have turned him out of his Archbishopric. He was at their mercy, for, as they knew, he had contracted a clandestine marriage which was still uncanonical and a sufficient ground of deprivation. His predecessor, Archbishop Warham, seems to have been compelled to ignominious compliances by fear of a similar skeleton in his closet, the existence of which was probably known to Wolsey. Mr. Froude appeals to our sense of the beauty of the Anglican liturgy, of which Cranmer was the compiler. Suppose he was; does that prove his independence as a judge?

To supply anything that may be wanting in the cogency of his argument, Mr. Froude has the resources of an effective rhetoric:

"The naked truth—and nakedness is not always indecent—was something of this kind. A marriage with a brother's wife was forbidden by the universal law of Christendom. Kings, dukes, and other great men who disposed as they pleased of the hands of their sons and daughters, found it often desirable, for political or domestic reasons, to form connections which the law prohibited, and therefore they maintained an Italian conjurer who professed to be able for a consideration to turn wrong into right. To marriages so arranged it was absurd to attach the same obligations as belonged to unions legitimately contracted. If, as often happened, such marriages turned out ill, the same conjurer who could make could unmake. This function, also, he was repeatedly called on to exercise, and, for a consideration also, he was usually compliant. The King of England had been married as a boy to Catherine of Aragon, carrying out an arrangement between their respective fathers. The marriage had failed in the most important object for which royal marriages are formed: there was no male heir to the Crown, nor any prospect of one. Henry, therefore, as any other prince in Europe would have done, applied to the Italian for assistance. The conjurer was willing, confessing that the case was one where his abilities might properly be employed. But another of his supporters interfered and forced him to refuse. The King of England had always paid his share for the conjurer's maintenance. He was violently deprived of a concession which it was admitted that he had a right to claim. But for the conjurer's pretensions to make the unlawful lawful, he would not have been in the situation in which he found himself. What could be more natural than that, finding himself thus treated, he should begin to doubt whether the conjurer, after all, had the power of making wrong into right? Whether the marriage had not been wrong from the beginning? And, when the magical artist began to curse, as his habit was when doubts were thrown on his being the Vicar of the Almighty, what could be more natural also than to throw him and his tackle out of the window?"

Such passages will tell with nine out of ten of Mr. Froude's readers. The tenth will ask whether one who can launch into such declamation and tender such a description of the Catholic organization of Europe, is really writing history.

About the only redeeming feature in this scene of knavery, hypocrisy, and lying is the constancy of the injured wife and of her not less injured daughter under the persecutions to which they were exposed by the brutality of Henry and the spitefulness of Anne. Harassed

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and insulted to drive her into ignoble compliances, Mary nobly replied that "God had not so blinded her that she should confess that her father had been an adulterer and her mother an adulteress."

Did Catherine of Aragon die a natural death or was she made away with? Her friends and the Imperial Ambassador suspected poison. That suspicion was, as we know, rife in those days, and is therefore always to be received with mistrust; but if the false report was common, so was the reality, and it is probable that Italian ingenuity had improved toxicology in advance of other science. The slow poisons of the Borgian era are no doubt mythical, but the practice seems to have been to administer poison in slow doses, so as to undermine the health of the victim, while analysis was unknown. Catherine's death was opportune; her friends were debarred from inspection of the corpse. Mr. Friedmann is disposed to think that there was foul play; but the verdict to which we incline, after reading the evidence set forth by him, is, Not proven.

In his account of Henry's behavior on the death of his injured wife, Mr. Froude now departs considerably from the account given in his History. In the History we are told "that when the news reached Henry he was much affected, and is said to have shed tears," and that "the Court was ordered into mourning—a command which Anne Boleyn only had the bad taste to disobey." It has now to be admitted that the King, on the arrival of the news, expressed relief; that, on the Sunday following, Elizabeth was carried to church with special ceremony; and that in the evening there was a dance at the palace, in the middle of which the King appeared with the child in his arms. The authority is Chapuys, who is accused of "bitterness," but whose statements as to the facts are not denied. They assume a still stronger character in the version of Mr. Paul Friedmann. The King, according to Mr. Friedmann, instead of ordering the court into mourning, appeared in his gayest attire.

Henry's passions caused a rupture with the Pope which ended in the liberation of England from the Papacy. In no other sense is he entitled to the credit of the Reformation. Nor is there the slightest reason for believing that if the Pope would have gratified his lawless wish, he would ever have countenanced reform. It must strike every one as singular that Mr. Froude, commencing his History in the middle of Henry's reign, did not give by way of preface some account of the earlier part of it. But he thus escapes the necessity of distinctly recording that Henry had come forward in theological controversy as the antagonist of Luther, and that when Sir Thomas More endeavored to warn him against the possible consequences of extreme exaltation of the Pope, he rejected the warning, saying, "He was so much bound to the See of Rome that he could not do too much honor to it," and that he would "set forth its authority to the uttermost, for he had received from that See his Crown Imperial." His favorite, Wolsey, was an example of the worst ecclesiastical abuses, holding as sinecures three bishoprics and a great abbey. A voluptuary, incontinent, and a gambler, Henry was not likely from his own spiritual impulses to become a leader of religious reform. Nor did he voluntarily promote the cause of religious liberty or do more than substitute one intolerant and persecuting despotism for another. He showed courage in defying the Papal thunders; no other credit can he fairly claim. The Reformation is in no way bound up with his cause or responsible for any of his crimes; nor can his acts when criminal derive any excuse or palliation from that source.

SIDGWICK'S ELEMENTS OF POLITICS.

The Elements of Politics. By Henry Sidgwick. Macmillan & Co. 1891.

To expound the chief general considerations that enter into the rational discussion of political questions in modern States, is the task to which Prof. Sidgwick has addressed himself in this volume. In most modern States, it is to be feared, the term "rational" must be somewhat broadly used to comprehend a large and interesting part of current political discussion; and it may be seriously contended that any view of political movements that disregards the irrational element is incomplete. The principles according to which the choice of a Governor for New York is made to depend upon the location, already chosen, of the World's Fair, or those which make a kindly feeling towards one of the precious metals a necessary qualification for the office of President of the United States, would seem to be only remotely rational in character, and yet the importance of the results in these cases cannot be denied. Still, it would obviously require much space to determine the laws of emotional politics, and as Prof. Sidgwick disclaims completeness for practical purposes in his treatment, we cannot complain that it is what he meant it to be. As he considers that the theory of politics has as its primary aim to determine what the constitution and action of government ought to be, its method can be only remotely historical. It is rather, in the main, deductive, based upon the general characteristics of civilized man and his surroundings. Politics, therefore, rests upon psychology: "The fundamental assumptions in our political reasonings consist of certain propositions as to human motives and tendencies, which are derived primarily from the ordinary experience of civilized life, though they find adequate confirmation in the facts of the current and recent history of our own and other civilized countries."

As instances of such assumptions, Prof. Sidgwick cites Bentham's maxim that, "*cæteris paribus*, each portion of wealth has corresponding to it a certain chance of happiness," and Mill's proposition, that "each person is the only safe guardian of his own rights and interests." It is unnecessary to say to those familiar with the other works of this author that he fully recognizes and allows for the limitations of these general statements, declaring, indeed, that our knowledge of a general truth relating to human action develops with our knowledge of its limitations and exceptions. Still, these propositions constitute the basis of his theory, as would be expected from his ethical and economic positions. After defining the concepts Government, Law, Right, and Obligation—a process which involves some incisive criticism of Austin's doctrines—he proceeds to lay down the principles upon which laws ought to be made and administered. Every one is agreed that the criterion is conduciveness to the general good, or welfare, and, in accordance with the results which are generally admitted to be pretty securely established by the 'Methods of Ethics,' this good is really the happiness of the individual human beings composing the community—including those that are to live as well as those living. For it may be the duty of one generation to sacrifice itself for that which follows, and even for the members of one political society to give up their own happiness for that of other parts of the race. Against utilitarianism so broad as this hardly any one can protest, especially as it is unavoidable that intuitional moralists should exclude States from the scope of their theory.

Dismissing the paternal theory of government as now occupying only a subordinate place, Prof. Sidgwick adopts the principle of individualism, that "what one sane adult is legally compelled to render to others should be merely the negative service of non-interference, except so far as he has voluntarily undertaken to render positive services; provided that we include in the notion of non-interference the obligation of remedying or compensating for mischief intentionally or carelessly caused by his acts, or preventing mischief that would otherwise result from some previous act." The principle of Socialism, on the other hand, involves the requirement that one sane adult, apart from contract or claim to reparation, shall be compelled to contribute positively by money or services to the support of others. It is to be understood that, as a moral ideal, what may be called ethical as distinguished from political Socialism is accepted by Prof. Sidgwick, for he considers it the duty of men to render the services which they render to others with a genuine regard to the interests of others; but for Government to make this duty compulsory is a different matter.

The analysis of the assumptions of individualism is a valuable contribution to the subject. It is pointed out that there is not only a psychological assumption—that men are likely to provide for their own welfare better than Government; but also a sociological assumption—that the common welfare is likely to be best promoted by individuals promoting their private interest intelligently. The chief qualifications that need to be made of these assumptions are that the appropriation of land by individuals may be indefinitely restricted by the community. The landless members of a community may have a claim to compensation for the opportunities of applying labor to land from which they are excluded by its appropriation. The scope of the work does not admit of practical suggestions for determining this compensation, but it is hardly necessary to say that the confiscation of vested rights is not regarded as an admissible expedient. Other qualifications arise from the necessity of providing for infants and incompetent persons; and the welfare of children requires extensive regulation of the relations of the sexes. Moreover, experience has shown that so far as certain wants are concerned, as those of a currency, a postal service, and roads, it is at least more convenient that Government should supply them. In principle these interferences of Government are Socialistic, though this term is now coming to imply generally a design of altering the distribution of wealth by benefiting the poor at the expense of the rich. But Prof. Sidgwick gives abundant reasons for believing that the realization of this ideal would arrest industrial progress, and that the comparative equality of incomes would be an equality in poverty, although he admits the evils of inequality and recognizes the attractiveness of the ideal. So much of Socialism at least as is involved in the provision by Government of opportunities for the development of useful qualities, he cordially approves.

Passing from the consideration of the community in itself, the author next examines the relations that arise when a number of communities exist; or, as he puts it, he considers how

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the boundaries of external separation and the boundaries of internal subdivision are to be determined. Here the terms "State," "nation," "nationality," and "country" receive satisfactory definition, and secession and disruption are suggestively discussed. By a natural transition, international law is then taken up, and the author is seen at his best in his careful and discriminating analysis of the principles of international duty and of external policy, and in the technical discussion of international law and morality. With certain qualifications, the use of the term "international law" is defended against Austin's criticism, and the case for extending the resort to arbitration is stated, although the author does not venture to anticipate that it will bring in the reign of universal peace. The argument, however, that it may be, theoretically, for the economic advantage of a State to interfere with free trade when an improvement has taken place in another State in a manufacture carried on in both, does not seem to us to be altogether sound. For, even if the manufacture ceased in the State where no improvement had been made, this could only be through an increased export of its other products, which would tend to equalize the advantages of the increased cheapness.

The second part of the treatise is devoted to the inquiry how Government should be constituted for the proper performance of the functions which have been found to be appropriate for it. This inquiry is necessarily an extremely comprehensive one, the number of details to be considered being enormous, and the severe limitations as to space have required a degree of compression that is painful to the reader. We are somewhat apprehensive that those who followed with admiration the discussions in the 'Methods of Ethics' will miss the "sweet reasonableness" that was so markedly characteristic of that book. It cannot be denied that the tone of the author is frequently judicial, not to say dogmatic, many questions being decided by him, after a statement of the arguments, as if his opinion were conclusive. While no one will dispute the preëminent qualifications of Prof. Sidgwick for the position of supreme arbiter upon all ethical questions—qualifications arising not more from his scholarship than from the sympathetic character of his intellect and the scrupulous fairness of his disposition—it is probable that lawyers and statesmen, to whom this portion of the treatise especially appeals, will feel that some of the decisions might have been different had the author enjoyed greater practical experience. Reflections of this kind will probably oftenest arise during the perusal of the chapters upon the legislature and the judiciary.

On the other hand, it is to be remembered that the aim of the author is mainly to construct an ideal system, and that his recommendations are to a great extent predicated upon the existence of a structure of this kind. They should, therefore, be estimated with reference to their relations to the system as a whole, and in this light it is obvious that they may appear reasonable when they would not commend themselves if applied to a special phase of government. We would not be understood as implying that Prof. Sidgwick does not recognize and distinguish the different forms of government, for this is an important and admirable part of his book; but these forms are themselves criticised with reference to the supreme political end. The practical politician will therefore not find here a store of maxims ready for his use, nor will the reformer be able to appeal to the authority of this treatise, in support of any specific change, without mastering it as a whole. In view of its comprehensiveness, we have abstained from controverting any of its positions, although, of course, some of them will be vehemently criticised. But, aside from controverted matters, the book is of the highest merit, as containing a profound, exhaustive, and systematic examination of the whole field of politics. As Prof. Sidgwick says, since Bentham's time no English writer has attempted this comprehensive treatment, although perhaps the spirit of the late Prof. Lieber would fain protest against this claim.

MORE NOVELS.

Huckleberries, Gathered from New England Hills. By Rose Terry Cooke. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1891.

Adventures of a Fair Rebel. By Matt Crim. Charles L. Webster & Co. 1891.

Straight On: A Story for Young and Old. By the Author of 'Colette.' With eighty-six illustrations by Édouard Zier. D. Appleton & Co. 1891.

WHOEVER has tasted the delight of gathering and eating huckleberries on some rocky New England hillside, or in sweet-fern-scented pasture, will appreciate the fitness of the title chosen by Mrs. Rose Terry Cooke for her recent collection of short stories. All lovers of human nature relish the peculiar flavor of the old New England character—product of stern and rugged natural surroundings, ruled over by a capricious climate and somewhat twisted by the force of spiritual winds, prevalently easterly—and Mrs. Cooke has portrayed many differing types of this character with all their delightful inconsistencies. In the present volume, "Grit" and "Odd Miss Todd" illustrate that unexpectedness in human nature which relieves the monotony of existence everywhere, and causes the narrow horizon of village life to broaden out illimitably; while certain other stories in the collection show forth the steadfast courage, the shamefaced tenderness, and the dogged obstinacy (sometimes called "pure cussedness") which, in combination, produce the full-flavored human fruit of New England soil. Mrs. Cooke herself possesses the gift which she ascribes to some of her characters, of seeing beauty in its humblest manifestations, and she also possesses a rarer gift—the power of unsealing the eyes of others to behold this beauty.

One approaches an autobiographical novel of the civil war with a certain degree of wariness. The unoffending reader is generally forced to "sup full with horrors," and is treated to ex-parte statements which fill his mind with painful impressions and leave a residuum of bitterness. A pleasant disappointment, however, is experienced on reading the 'Adventures of a Fair Rebel.' The plot has often done service in stories of the civil war, but it still recommends itself, for its construction follows the lines of nature. A Southern girl, Rachael Douglass, meets her destiny in the shape of a young Federal officer, Captain Lambert, who saves her and her companions from the hands of freebooters while travelling through the mountains of North Carolina to Georgia. Desperate complications arise, not only from the fact that Rachel herself is an ardent rebel, but because the family of Captain Lambert, who received his mental and moral training at the North, among his father's relatives, are living in Georgia, and are heart and soul with the Confederacy. These complications are gradually untangled by the force of circumstances. In fact, towards the last, there is a weakening in the working out of the plot so that almost too much is left to circumstances. But the style is simple and straightforward, with fine touches here and there. The two old negroes, "Uncle Ned" and "Aunt Milly," are very lifelike, having none of the exaggerations which often make such portraiture mere caricature. The showing forth of the best aspects on both sides of the dreadful struggle is skilfully done, avoiding false sentiment, and maintaining an almost judicial tone, which does not, however, lessen the interest of the story as a story.

Those who have enjoyed 'La Neuvaine de Colette' will be eager to read another story by the same author. 'Straight On' lacks the *verve* which makes 'Colette' so irresistible, but the stories are so widely different in character that comparison, except on general lines, would be difficult. In outward aspect, the present volume seems especially designed for the young, but it is in fact, as its title-page suggests, intended for young and old. And a tale of courage and faithfulness under perhaps the most difficult of all conditions—cruel and unmerited suspicion—is good for all; possibly of even more service to the old than the young, for the natural buoyancy of youth floats many a burden which would weigh heavily upon maturer years. 'Straight On' is the motto given with intense earnestness by a dying father to his only son. Close daily companionship with his father for a dozen years had already prepared in the mind of the boy a substantial foundation for the exercise of heroic virtues, and amid most painful circumstances "straight on" he followed the fair ideal—that ideal of which the author says: "No friend is more faithful than an ideal that you strive to attain, no lever more powerful to raise all the soul's strength." It is good, too, to be reminded that, in thus striving after the ideal, qualities quite out of the sphere of the namby-pamby are called for. Philip Bailleul was a good fighter, on occasion, as some of his schoolfellows found to their cost. But while he gained the ready respect always accorded to a valiant use of the fists, he was obliged to wait long for a recognition of less tangible but none the less potent virtues. However, though Justice tarried long, she came with mighty strides at last, and not only rewarded the true, but brought the false to repentance, which is better. The numerous illustrations, by Édouard Zier, are full of spirit and add to the interest of the story.

Studies in the Wagnerian Drama. By H. E. Krehbiel. Harper & Bros. Pp. 198.

DURING the last two seasons of German opera at the Metropolitan Opera-house, Mr. Krehbiel delivered a series of lectures on the Wagner music dramas, with illustrations on the piano played by Mr. Seidl and Mr. Huss. These lectures have now been collected in book form, with numerous illustrations in musical type to take the place of the elucidations at the pianoforte. Although we have no German opera this winter, the publication of these lectures is not for that reason untimely; for many will find pleasant memories of past operatic enjoyments awakened by a perusal of them, and, as for timeliness, everything relating to Wagner, provided it be good, will be timely and welcome for many generations to come. The Wagner avalanche is still growing (there were 963 Wagner performances in Germany and Austria during the last operatic season, as against 893

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during the preceding season), and the later and best of the music dramas have only just entered on their irresistible movement, to which only this objection can be made, that it threatens to crush everything else in the operatic world.

It is to facilitate the understanding of these later music dramas that Mr. Krehbiel's 'Studies' were written. With the earlier operas they deal but incidentally, the five chapters being taken up by essays on "Tristan and Isolde," "The Meistersinger," "The Niblung's Ring," and "Parsifal," with an introductory paper on "The Wagnerian Drama: Its Prototypes and Elements." In this it is shown clearly and forcibly that Wagner was not an iconoclast, without any affiliations with preceding composers, but simply a regenerator of the music drama, who gathered together what was most truthful and valuable in the practices of his predecessors, from the days of the Greek tragedians to the present, and, with some important additions of his own, welded them into the most perfect form of musico-dramatic art ever known. In view of the prevalent misconceptions on the subject of Wagner's vocal style, special attention should be directed to pages 11-13, where it is concisely shown how the *old* Italian masters of vocal art followed principles and made statements "which Gluck and Wagner only echoed when they came to urge their reforms."

Mr. Krehbiel takes it for granted that his readers are familiar with the plots of Wagner's dramas; this leaves him time for tracing some of the more subtle threads of the plots and explaining their ethical significance. There are also many digressive comparisons of Wagner's treatment of his legends with their versions at the hands of other poets, mediæval and modern. But the most valuable feature of these 'Studies' consists in the frequent illustrations showing how subtly the poem and the music are interwoven in Wagner's dramas, and how the typical motives undergo psychologic changes as the plot unfolds. The wonderful success of Wagner may be traced to the fact that his scores appeal alike to those who seek only for sensuous beauty in music, and those who also crave active intellectual stimulus in listening to it. A perusal of the present work will, no doubt, have the desired effect of converting devotees of the first class to enthusiasts of the second.

It is not usual to make an index to a collection of lectures or essays, but in the present case an index would have been an advantage, were it only to locate the incidental descriptions of particular scenes, some of which are very felicitous (the opening scene of "Rheingold," the "Waldweben" in "Siegfried," the Siegfried Funeral March, the stormy introduction to the "Walküre," etc.). The definitions are usually all that could be desired, and we do not remember to have ever come across so clear and concise an elucidation of the "alliteration question" as this:

"Wagner held that, as a poetical form of expression, rhyme is useless in music, because it not only implies identity of vowel sounds, but also of the succeeding consonants, which are lost by the singer's need of dwelling on the vowels. The initial consonant, however, cannot be lost in song, because it is that which stamps its physiognomy on the word; and, repetition creating a sort of musical cadence which is agreeable to the ear, Wagner desired alliteration to be substituted for rhyme in the chief parts of his verse."

Henrik Ibsen, 1828–1888. Et Literært Livsbillede af Henrik Jæger. Copenhagen. 1888. Pp. 296. 8vo.—The same, translated into German by Heinrich Zschalig. Dresden and Leipzig. 1890. Pp. 240. 12mo.—The same, translated from the Norwegian into English by William Morton Payne. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 1890. Pp. 275. 12mo.—The same, translated by Clara Bell, with the verse done into English from the Norwegian Original by Edmund Gosse. London: W. Heinemann. 1890. Pp. 252. 12mo.

Mr. Henrik Bernhard Jæger has taken high rank in Scandinavia as a critic and man of letters, and his biography of Ibsen—published on the latter's sixtieth birthday—has become the recognized authoritative life of the poet, and is likely to remain (together with Halvorsen's Bibliography) the chief source of reliable information concerning the personal and literary history of Norway's great dramatist. The work was written with Ibsen's sanction and partial collaboration, and one of the most interesting chapters in it is his account of his own boyhood. The German translation of Mr. Jæger's book was issued with his permission, and he has added an otherwise unprinted critical notice of "The Lady from the Sea," which work was not published when the original Life appeared. The translation seems to be a faithful but not always happy rendering of the original text.

Between the two English translations, which were published almost simultaneously, there is little choice. Both are sincere attempts at a faithful reproduction of the original, but Mr. Payne is too literal at times, forgetting that the best way to represent a foreign idiom to an English reader is not to give a word-for-word translation of it, but to employ an English equivalent. It was a mistake, also, to omit the bibliographical references contained in the original work, and there seems no good reason for the omission of some other matter, such, for example, as the dedication to the wife of Ibsen; while for the sake of completeness, Mr. Payne might have included, from the German translation, Mr. Jæger's chapter on Ibsen's last work, "The Lady from the Sea." In the English book (which is better edited) this chapter is replaced by one contributed by Mr. Edmund Gosse, containing an original notice of the drama, which was first published in the second edition of his 'Northern Studies.' Mr. Gosse has also undertaken to render into English the numerous quotations from Ibsen's verse. In this delicate task of reproducing Ibsen's poetry, neither the English nor the American translator has been entirely felicitous, but Mr. Payne has been rather more successful, on the whole, than Mr. Gosse, while being at the same time more true to the thought and form of the original. Both translations contain some slight errors which might have been avoided, one of which we will correct here. It is several years since Ibsen's son, Dr. Sigurd Ibsen, was an attaché of the Swedish-Norwegian legation at Washington.

Dawn of Art in the Ancient World: An Archæological Sketch, by William Martin Conway, sometime Roscoe Professor of Art in University College, Liverpool. London: Percival & Co.; New York: Macmillan. 1891.

This is an interesting and most serviceable little book, written in an entertaining manner, and evidently as the result of much thought as well as reading. The substance of it was made up from a brief course of popular lectures, in which it was the author's aim to take his audience from the starting-point of most histories of art, and carry them back as far as might be possible into the vast night of what we speak of vaguely as the prehistoric epoch, touching even upon the palæolithic age. The book is obviously not intended for those who desire special information on such subjects as the Lake Dwellers and the Reindeer Age; but for those interested in the philosophical side of art, who like to trace its evolution, and who wish to form at least some slight conception of the steps by which man arrived at the point where he began to construct permanent monuments, this will prove a welcome and suggestive little manual.

Naturally a subject of this kind is involved in theory. Much, if not most, of what we have gained in it thus far is the result of deductions which, however logically and cautiously made, are often of necessity based upon mere atoms of data, so that we cannot be too sure of what we have got; and there is no quality in Mr. Conway's book which we find so commendable as his moderation, and the conscientiousness with which he repeatedly warns his readers that, although the theories he is explaining are based upon good grounds, they are still but theories. This is a prime requisite in a popular expositor, and its presence gives the layman confidence at once.

With some of his conclusions, however, we do not find it possible to agree. This is notably the case with what Mr. Conway says of the part Egypt played in the development of ancient art. We think he greatly underrates her share. "Egypt," he says, "contributed so little and Chaldæa so much to the art traditions of the world"; and "architecture was *par excellence* the Egyptian art which influenced the Greeks." Neither of these statements seems to us borne out by the facts. Indeed, we are constantly surprised at finding him exactly reversing the relative importance usually assigned to Egypt and Chaldæa. In what did Chaldæa influence the rest of the world—or, we might better say, the later world—except in textile arts? Certainly not in her sculpture, of which we possess less than a dozen specimens, and these, though individual in character, are decidedly primitive. Even the Assyrian works show no derivation from them. Certainly not in her architecture, which was the outgrowth of a country devoid of building-stone. Her luxury was proverbial, and the gorgeousness of her stuffs was praised through the whole course of classical literature, but we do not find the Greeks acknowledging their indebtedness to her in any other form of art. Egypt, on the other hand, gave the impress of her individuality to the arts of the Ægean as far back as we can trace them. For all that we yet know to the contrary, it was she who invented the art of conventionalizing natural forms, and what has this meant in the history of decoration? Take one single example, the lotus, and note how that motive has been taken up, and adapted with every possible variation not only to architecture, but to pottery, jewelry, textiles, and in fact every form to which decoration could be applied, even down to our time. In sculpture, too, we believe that she played a very important part in the early development of Greek art—Greek tradition acknowledged it; Daedalos, the mythical father of Greek sculpture, was said to have been in Egypt, and the early "Apollo" statues, always with the left foot advanced, certainly bear more than a coincidental resemblance to Egyptian works. As to architecture, we will even go so far as to say that this was the art in which the Egyptians influenced the Greeks least of all. The statement that "but for the

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architecture of Egypt the Parthenon could not have existed," will find but few supporters since Dörpfeld published his masterly little essay, proving almost mathematically, as it seems to us, that Doric architecture was of a purely indigenous origin and development, and that it was evolved naturally, and with surprisingly little foreign influence at any period, from the primitive Greek house of clay and wood.

However, Mr. Conway's statement of his views is always interesting and well put, and no one concerned with the evolution of art can fail to profit by its perusal.

The Life of Father Hecker. By Rev. Walter Elliot. New York: The Columbus Press. 1891.

THIS biography is written with such immense diffuseness that the author seems as one already in eternity and not in time. It would be worth while for many Protestants to look at it who take too much for granted that the Roman Catholic Church is this or that. It would enable them to see that she has not yet lost the faculty which Macaulay praised so warmly, when reviewing Ranke's 'History of the Popes'—the faculty for adapting herself to new and trying situations. A less rhetorical exhibition of democratic Romanism may be found in Bishop Kane's article, "The Catholic Church and Economics," in the October number of the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*—a programme as lofty and ideal as Mr. Henry Drummond's recent 'Programme of Christianity.' The Americanism of Father Hecker's biographer is exceedingly obstreperous. It seems that Father Hecker's "favorite topic in book or lecture was that the Constitution of the United States requires as its natural basis the truths of Catholic teaching regarding man's natural state, as opposed to the errors of Luther and Calvin." Certainly a system of universal suffrage does not seem to agree with a low idea of human nature. Mr. Elliot frequently returns to this, but there are some ugly facts for him in the historical associations of Calvinism with political freedom. May not the Roman Catholic's doctrine of passive obedience have more practical weight in politics than his doctrine of human nature? Father Hecker did not stop half way when he went over from transcendentalism to Romanism. The right of private judgment was as intolerable to him as to Newman, and the declaration of infallibility much more palatable to him than to the English Father. But some of Mr. Elliot's concessions to the *Zeit-Geist* are interesting and refreshing.

The most entertaining part of the biography is that relating to Brook Farm and Fruitlands, in both of which young Hecker made a trial. Mr. George William Curtis furnishes interesting reminiscences of him as he then appeared. There is a glimpse of him at the dough-trough with Kant's 'Critique of the Pure Reason' stuck up in front of him. In general his letters and journal are too subjective to be pleasant reading, and the passage from them to the reminiscences of his old age is often violent. Evidently the medium of his experience had a distorting influence, and belittled or deformed his old companions. This is particularly true of Emerson, who has never been treated so maliciously before, even if the description of "a transcendentalist" on page 155 is not meant precisely for him. Of Alcott he is more tolerant: "Whatever principles Emerson had, Alcott gave him." . . . "He [Alcott] had an insinuating and persuasive way with him. He must have been an ideal peddler." George Ripley is set down as "a complete failure," who, but for his cowardice, would have joined the Roman Church. It was clearly the right church for one who took so little root in himself as Father Hecker. He found in it an almost boisterous happiness.

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